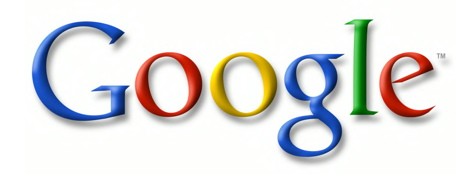


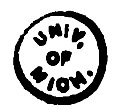

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COLOMBIA:

BEING A

GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL, AGRICULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, AND POLITICAL ACCOUNT OF THAT COUNTRY,

ADAPTED FOR

THE GENERAL READER, THE MERCHANT, AND THE COLONIST.

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COLOMBIA.

CHAPTER I.

PRODUCE.

SECTION I.

MINES.

THE rock of gneiss, says Humboldt, passing sometimes* into a granite of new formation, sometimes mica slate, belongs in Germany to the most metalliferous rocks; but in the New Continent, the gneiss has not hitherto been remarked as very rich in ores worth working. The most celebrated mines of Mexico and Peru are found in the primitive and transition schistus, in the trap porphyries, the grauwakke, and the alpine limestone. In several spots of the valley of Caracas, the gneiss contains a small quantity of gold, disseminated in small veins of quartz, sulphuretted

* Especially at great elevations.

silver, azure copper ore, and galena; but it remains doubtful, whether these different metalliferous substances are not too poor to merit any attempt at working them.

Attempts indeed were made, on the conquest of the province, toward the middle of the sixteenth century. From the promontory of Paria to beyond Cape Vela, navigators had found ornaments of gold, and gold dust, among the inhabitants of the coast. They penetrated into the interior of the country to discover whence the precious metal came: and though the information obtained in the province of Coro, and the markets of Curiana and Cauchieto, had nearly shown that real mineral wealth was to be found only to the west and south-west of Coro, that is to say, in the mountains which lie near those of Cundinamarca, the whole province of Caracas was not the less eagerly explored.

The conquest of the province of Venezuela having begun at its western extremity, the neighbouring mountains of Coro, Tocuyo, and Barquisimeto, first attracted the attention of the Conquistadores. These mountains join the Cordilleras of New Grenada (those of Santa Fé, Pamplona, La Grita, and Merida,) to the littoral chain of Caracas. It is a land so much the more interesting to the geognost, as no map has yet made known the mountainous ramifications which the paramos of Niquitao and Las Rosas, the last of those the height of which reaches sixteen hundred

toises, send out toward the north-east. Between Tocuyo, Araure, and Barquisimeto, rises the group of the Altar-mountains, connected toward the south-east with the paramo of Las Rosas. A branch of the Altar stretches to the north-east by San Felipe el Fuerte, joining the granitic mountains of the coast near Porto Cavello. The other branch is directed to the east toward Nirgua and Tinaco, and joins the chain of the interior, that of Yusma, Villa de Cura, and Sabana de Ocumare.

The whole land we have been describing, separates the waters which flow to the Orinoco from those which run into the immense Lake of Maracaibo and the Caribbean Sea. It presents rather temperate than hot climates; and it is looked upon in the country, notwithstanding the distance of more than a hundred leagues, as a prolongation of the metalliferous soil of Pamplona.

It was in the group of the western mountains of Venezuela, that the Spaniards, in the year 1551, wrought the gold mine of Buria, which was the cause of the foundation of the town of Barquisimeto. But these works, like many other mines successively opened, were soon abandoned. Here, as in all the mountains of Venezuela, the ore has been found to be very variable in its produce. The lodes are very often divided or cease; and the metals appear only in kidney ores, and present the most delusive appearances. It is, however, only in this group of mountains of San Felipe and Barquisimeto, that the working of

mines has been continued till our days. Those of Aroa, near San Felipe el Fuerte, situate in the centre of a very feverish country, are the only mines which are wrought in the whole Capitania-General of Caracas. They yield a small quantity of copper.

Next to the works at Buria, near Barquisimeto, those of the valley of Caracas, and of the mountains near the capital, are the most ancient. Francisco Faxardo, and his wife Isabella, of the nation of the Guayquerias, both founders of the town of Collado,* often visited the table-land where the capital of Venezuela is now situate. They had given this table-land the name of Valle de San Francisco; and having seen some bits of gold in the hands of the natives, Faxardo succeeded, in the year 1560, in discovering the mines of Los Toques,† to the south-west of Caracas, near the group of the mountain of Cocuiza, which separate the valleys of Caracas and Aragua. It is thought, that in the first of these valleys, near Baruta (to the south of the village of Valle), the natives had made some excavations in veins of auriferous quartz; and that, when the Spaniards first settled there, and founded the town of Caracas, they filled the shafts, which had been dry,

* Caravalloda.

† Thirteen years later, in 1573, Gabriel de Avila, one of the alcades of the new town of Caracas, began anew the working of those mines, which were from that time called the Real de Minas de Nuestra Senora.

with water. It is now impossible to verify this fact; but it is certain, that long before the conquest, grains of gold were a medium of exchange among certain nations of the New Continent. They gave gold to purchase pearls; and it does not appear extraordinary that, after having for a long time picked up grains of gold in the rivulets, nations enjoying fixed habitations, and devoted to agriculture, should have tried to follow the auriferous veins, in the superior surface of the soil. The mines of Los Toques could not be peaceably wrought, till the defeat of the Cacique Guaycaypuro, a celebrated chief of the Toques, who so long contested with the Spaniards the possession of the province of Venezuela.

We have yet to mention a third point, to which the attention of the Conquistadores was called by indications of mines, so early as the end of the 16th century. In following the valley of Caracas to the east beyond Caurimare, in the road to Caucagua, we reach a mountainous and woody country, where a great quantity of charcoal is now made, and which anciently bore the name of the province of Los Mariches. In these eastern mountains of Venezuela, the gneiss passes into a talcous state. It contains, as at Salzbourg, lodes of auriferous quartz. The labours very anciently begun in those mines, have often been abandoned and resumed.

The mines of Caracas remained forgotten during more than a hundred years. But in the times

nearest our own, toward the end of the last century, an intendant of Venezuela, Don Jose Avalo, again gave into the illusions which had flattered the cupidity of the Conquistadores. He fancied that all the mountains near the capital contained great metallic riches. A young viceroy of New Spain, Count Galvez, visiting at this period the coast of Tierra Firme, to examine its fortifications and state of defence, was requested by the intendant to send him some Mexican miners. The choice was not fortunate: they who were employed could not distinguish a single rock; every thing, even mica, appeared to them gold and silver. The two chiefs of these Mexican miners were allowed fifteen thousand francs a-year; and it was not their interest to discourage a government, which was afraid of no expense that was intended to promote the working of the mines. Their operations were directed toward the ravine of Tipe, and the ancient mines of Baruta, to the south of Caracas, where the Indians gathered, even in Humboldt's time, a little stream gold. The zeal of the administration soon diminished; and after having incurred many useless expenses, the enterprise of the mines of Caracas was totally abandoned. A small quantity of auriferous pyrites, sulphuretted silver, and a little native gold, had been found; but these were only feeble indications, and in a country where labour is extremely dear, there was no inducement to pursue works so little productive.

Humboldt visited the ravine of Tipe, situate in that part of the valley which opens toward Cape Blanco. He found several veins of quartz in the valley of Tipe, appearing above the soil. They contained pyrites, carbonated iron ore, traces of sulphuretted silver (glasserz), and grey copper ore, or fahlerz. The works which had been undertaken, either to extract the ore, or to explore the nature of its bed, appeared to be very superficial. The earth falling in, had filled up those excavations, and he could not judge of the richness of the lode.

Notwithstanding the expense incurred under the intendancy of Don Jose Avalo, the great question, whether the province of Venezuela contains mines rich enough to be wrought, is yet problematical. Though in countries where hands are wanting, the culture of the soil demands unquestionably the first care of government, yet the example of New Spain is sufficient to prove, that the working of metals is not always unfavourable to the progress of agriculture. The best cultivated Mexican fields, those which recall to the memory of the traveller the most beautiful parts of France and the south of Germany, extend from Silao toward the Villa of Leon ; they are in the neighbourhood of the mines of Guanaxualo, which alone furnish a sixth part of all the silver of the New World.

Upon the whole it would appear, that the disappointments mentioned above have delivered

the inhabitants of Caracas from the evils attendant on the working of gold and silver mines, which, as long as they last, are the tomb of the greatest part of those who labour in them; which destroy the germ of all the social and domestic virtues; which support debauchery and dissipation, with all the vices that follow in their train; and which, when they are exhausted, substitute poverty for prodigality, vagrancy for labour; and disgorge into society the workmen whom they employed, without any other resource than to choose between beggary or robbery.

If, however, these provinces have not enjoyed, nor are ever probably destined to enjoy, the transient lustre which mines confer, they are amply, very amply, indemnified by the precious and inexhaustible productions of a soil, which, on account of its fertility and extent, will become the constant abode of ease and happiness; and that too, when those countries which boast of their mines, will present but rubbish, ruins, and frightful excavations, the melancholy monuments of departed opulence.

Yet, as already said, in the jurisdiction of San Felipe, some mines of copper of superior quality are made an object of attention; but they do not employ such a number of hands as to cause humanity to groan at the sight of its own degradation, nor to occasion a diversion from the cultivation of the soil, materially prejudicial.

The convenience of ready supply, and the low price of this metal, being sold at fifteen piastres

per quintal, have induced the greater part of the planters who cultivate the sugar-cane, to have their boilers, and the cylinders of their mills, made of it. There is the greater probability that this example will be universally followed, especially with respect to the boilers, as copper, being more permeable than iron, opposes less resistance to the action of the fire, and consequently the boiling goes on with more promptness in the copper than in the iron boilers, from which results at least a saving of time and fuel. Another reason entitles the copper to a preference: when an iron boiler or cylinder breaks, there is equally a loss of materials and of manufacture, whereas when they are made of copper, the owner suffers a loss amounting to little more than the charges of workmanship.

Besides supplying the local consumption, the copper of those mines has furnished for exportation, from Porto Cavello, which is the most convenient port, one hundred and seventy-one quintals; and the quantity would be much greater, but for the circumstances of the war.

The mines of Cundinamarca are however the objects of the greatest importance to its commerce. It may be said that this portion of the republic is as rich in mineral treasures as any in South America. In the provinces of Antioquia and Choco, it is alone richer in gold than any other. The silver procured there is remarkably pure. Lead and copper are also found, but little

sought after. Emeralds and other precious stones are thence sent to Europe. Platina, that valuable metal, was long thought to be peculiar to the province of Choco. Mercury, so useful in a mining country, has been lately discovered to exist in the province of Antioquia, in the Valle de Santa Rosa, in the mountains of. Quindiu, and near the village of Cuença, in Quito.

The gold mines alone of New Grenada, says a late writer, yield annually the value of 2,500,000 piastres. The province of Choco might alone produce annually more than twenty thousand marks, or 12,000 lb. troy weight of gold, if in better peopling this region, which is one of the most fertile of the New Continent, the government would turn its attention to the progress of agriculture.—Of silver there are very rich veins in the Vega de Supia. These mines, which supply both gold and silver, were only discovered within these twenty-five years. The operations were interrupted in consequence of a law-suit between the proprietors taking place at the very time when the most abundant minerals were found. As to the old silver mines of Pamplona, and those of Sta Anna, near Mariquita, they were abandoned by order of the late Spanish Viceroy, on account of some misunderstanding in the mode of working them. No doubt, in better times, the government will again resume these works, as well as the works of Santo Christo de las Laxsas, and others near the river Guarino, which

formerly furnished very considerable quantities of silver.—America, in its present state, is dependent on Europe with respect to mercury; but it is probable that this dependency will not be of long duration. The spirit of enterprise and research will increase with the freedom and population of the country. If small veins of cinnabar, merely uncovered at their surface, like the present works at Huancavelica, yield annually 3000 quintals of mercury, we cannot entertain a doubt that works of investigation, directed with intelligence, will one day produce more mercury than is requisite for all the amalgamation of South America. The works of the celebrated mine of Almaden, notwithstanding their being partly inundated, have received such improvements since 1802, as to furnish 20,000 quintals annually. In New Grenada mercury is found in three different places; namely, in the Valle de Santa Rosa, in the province of Antioquia, in the mountain of Quindiu near Carthago, and in the province of Quito near Cuença. Very abundant mines of lead, iron, and copper, are worked in the province of Socorro; of the latter metal, General MacGregor cast cannon in the year 1813.—Mines of emeralds exist no where but in New Grenada, in the province of Muso; the most exquisite pearls belong to Rio de Hacha and Panama; and platina is only to be met with in Choco and Popayan.

The whole coast north of the province of Caracas furnishes a considerable quantity of salt,

of a beautiful whiteness; but the most abundant salt-pit is that of Araya, which may vie with all those of America, not even excepting Turk's Island. That salt-pit consists of a mixture of the fossil and marine salts. Its working is very little attended to; so that it does not yield the one hundredth part of the quantity it is capable of producing.—In Cundinamarca, also, salt is obtained in great quantity, and it produces many other valuable mineral substances.

These provinces abound in mineral waters, both warm and cold. They are to be found of various qualities, such as the ammoniacal, the ferruginous, the nitrous, and even the acidulous. Medicine does not derive from them all the advantages they are capable of affording, because, in general, they are at too great a distance from inhabited places, and consequently the patient cannot, without depriving himself of those domestic attentions which contribute so much to the recovery of health, leave his own habitation to try a remedy which local inconveniencies must evidently render inefficacious. This is the only reason which causes these springs to be so little frequented, and even so little known.

SECTION II.

PEARL FISHERY.

THE pearl-aronde (*avicula margaritifera*, Cuvier) abounds on the shoals which extend from Cape Paria to that of Vela. The island of Margarita, Cubagua, Coche, Punta Araya, and the mouth of the Rio la Hacha, were celebrated in the sixteenth century, as the Persian Gulf and the island Taprobane were among the ancients. It is not just to say, as several historians have asserted, that the natives of America were unacquainted with the luxury of pearls. The first Spaniards who landed in Tierra Firme found the savages decked with necklaces and bracelets; and among the civilized people of Mexico and Peru, pearls of a beautiful form were extremely sought after. Humboldt has published a dissertation on the statue of a Mexican priestess in basalt, whose head-dress, resembling the calantica of the heads of Isis, is ornamented with pearls. Las Casas and Benzoni have described, but not without some exaggeration, the cruelties which were exercised on the unhappy Indian slaves and Negroes employed in the pearl fishery. At the beginning of the conquest, the island of Coche alone furnished the value of fifteen hundred marks of pearls a month.

The quint which the king's officers drew from the produce of pearls, amounted to fifteen thou-

sand ducats; which, according to the value of the metals in those times, and the extensiveness of the contraband trade, might be considered as a very considerable sum. It appears, that till 1530 the value of the pearls sent to Europe amounted yearly on an average to more than eight hundred thousand piastres. In order to judge of the importânce of this branch of commerce to Seville, Toledo, Antwerp, and Genoa, we should recollect, that at the same period the whole of the mines of America did not furnish two millions of piastres; and that the fleet of Ovando seemed to be of immense wealth, because it contained nearly two thousand six hundred marks of silver. Pearls were so much the more sought after, as the luxury of Asia had been introduced into Europe by two ways diametrically opposite; that of Constantinople, where the Paleologi wore garments covered with strings of pearls; and that of Grenada, the residence of the Moorish kings, who displayed at their court all the luxury of the East. The pearls of the East Indies were preferred to those of the West; but the number of the latter which circulated in commerce was not less considerable in the times which immediately followed the discovery of America. In Italy, as well as in Spain, the islet of Cubagua became the object of numerous mercantile speculations.

The pearl fishery diminished rapidly toward the end of the sixteenth century; and according to Laet, it had long ceased in 1683. The indus-

try of the Venetians, who imitated fine pearls with great exactness, and the frequent use of cut diamonds, rendered the fisheries of Cubagua less lucrative. At the same time the oysters which yielded the pearls became scarcer, not, as it is believed from a popular tradition, because these animals, frightened by the noise of the oars, conveyed themselves elsewhere, but because their propagation had been prevented from the imprudent destruction of the shells by thousands. The pearl-aronde is of a much more delicate constitution than the greater part of the other acephalous molluscæ. At the isle of Ceylon, where, in the Bay of Condeatchy, the fishery employs six hundred divers, and where the annual produce is more than half a million of piastres, it has vainly been attempted to transplant the animals to other parts of the coast. The government permits fishing there only during a single month; while at Cubagua the bank of shells was fished at all seasons. To form an idea of the destruction of the species caused by the divers, we must remember that a boat sometimes collects, in two or three weeks, more than thirty-five thousand oysters. The animal lives but nine or ten years; and it is only in its fourth year that the pearls begin to show themselves. In ten thousand shells there is often not a single pearl of value. Tradition states, that on the bank of Margarita, the fishermen opened the shells one by one: in the island of Ceylon, the animals are thrown into heaps, to

rot in the air; and to separate the pearls which are not attached to the shell, the animal pulp is washed, as the miners do the sands that contain grains of gold, tin, or diamonds.

At present Spanish America furnishes no other pearls for trade than those of the Gulf of Panama, and the mouth of the Rio de la Hacha. On the shoals that surround Cubagua, Coche, and the island of Margarita, the fishery is as much neglected as on the coasts of California. It is believed at Cumana, that the pearl-aronde has greatly multiplied after two centuries of repose;* and it is asked, why the pearls found at present in shells which are entangled in the fisherman's nets are so small, and have so little brilliancy, while on the arrival of the Spaniards they were so extremely brilliant among the Indians, who doubtless had not given themselves the trouble of diving to collect them? The problem is so much the more difficult to solve, as we are ignorant whether earthquakes have altered the nature of the bottom of the sea, or whether the changes of the submarine currents may have had an influence either on the temperature of the water or on the abundance of certain molluscæ on which the aronde feeds.

The Bay of Panama is also famous for the pearl oyster; and the shoals near the islands del Rey, Tabago, and about forty others, which form a

* In 1812, some new attempts were made at Margarita for the fishing of pearls.

small archipelago, formerly produced pearls as fine as could be procured in any part of the world.

On these islands, huts were built for the divers, who were mostly Negroes, and boats holding from eight to ten people went out to the banks, which were not more than fifteen fathoms under water. The divers, provided with a rope tied to their bodies, and a small weight attached, plunged into the ocean: on arriving at the bottom, they seized a shell in the left hand, which they put under the arm, a second in the same hand, a third in the right, and sometimes one in the mouth; they then reascended to breathe, and to put the fish in a bag. In this practice, the unfortunate slaves were frequently destroyed by the sharks, mantas, &c. The manta is a large flat fish of great size, which wraps its fins round the object it seizes, and presses it to death. The Negroes usually carry a knife to defend themselves; but notwithstanding this protection, as well as that of their comrades in the boats, numbers were annually devoured by these fish.

SECTION III.

SUGAR.

Sugar is the prime article of commercial produce in all the colonies situate between the tro-

pics. At Tierra Firme, however, it enjoys only a secondary rank. There is very little, if any, exportation of it; for if we except a few quintals of poor, coarse sugar, charged with all its molasses, which they term *papelon*, and which is carried to the island of Curaçoa for consumption, it may safely be asserted, that, unless by chance, not one pound is exported. Not that there are few sugar plantations, but that all their produce is consumed on the spot. The Creoles are generally very fond of sweetmeats, and every thing composed of sugar. All, without distinction of condition, fortune, or colour, make sugar the greatest article of consumption.

The most important part of a rich man's repast is confectionary. In a banquet, the dessert is the service on which all his ostentation is lavished. I have partaken of repasts given to forty or fifty persons, says Depons, where more than three hundred dishes of sugars, in every form and shape, were tastefully arranged on a different table from that where we had been served with meats, and were destined to captivate the admiration of the guests. In one word, there is not a Negro, who, though perhaps restricted to but one meal per day, does not make it with a little cacao boiled in a great deal of water, and a large lump of coarse sugar, which he eats like bread, sipping and relishing his porringer of chocolate, or rather tincture of cacao. This beverage is called *chorote*. Moreover, an intoxicating be-

verage, called *goarapo,* is produced from the fermentation of sugar in water, and is so common in Tierra Firme, that all classes make use of it, particularly those of an inferior rank. This custom gives rise to a great demand for sugar.

Soil.—The variety and extent of land in the provinces of Caracas, readily afford soil proper for the cultivation of the sugar-cane. Establishments of this kind are generally in the environs of towns, because there the sugar finds a vent, and the proximity of them facilitates cultivation. There are some, however, at twenty leagues distance; but in a country so vast, where some planters have ten or twelve days' travelling before they reach their plantations, the distance of twenty leagues appears moderate.

The sugar-cane delights in hot climates,* and particular soils. Humid soils, hills, sandy plains, such as those to the north of the Orinoco, in the environs of Coro, Maracaibo, &c. promise no success to this species of culture.

The sugar-cane requires a rich soil, and of which the mould is at least one foot in depth. It

* The sugar-cane gives incontestably the preference to hot countries: there are in fact none too hot for it; but it may be had also, with all its properties, in the temperate zone, as far north as the tropic of cancer. In Spain it is cultivated with success, in the kingdom of Grenada, situate between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees of northern latitude. It can be cultivated much farther north, since at Paris they have obtained sugar well crystallized, from canes reared in the Garden of Plants.

should also be free, for clayed land, and all others where the water filtrates with difficulty, yield meagre canes, the sugar of which will not defray the expense of their cultivation. The sugar prefers rather a fat and ash-coloured soil. Land of this double quality always yields a great deal of very good sugar. It must be admitted, that the planters of Tierra Firme are well skilled in distinguishing the kind of soil which each production demands. The quality of their different articles of produce is an indisputable proof thereof.

SPECIES.—The three species of sugar-cane can be distinguished even at a distance, by the colour of their leaves; namely, the ancient Creole sugar-cane, the Otaheite cane, and the Batavia cane.

The first has a leaf of a deeper green, the stem less thick, and the knots nearer together. This sugar-cane was the first introduced from India into Sicily, the Canary Islands, and the West Indies.

The second is of a lighter green; and its stem is higher, thicker, and more succulent. The whole plant displays a more luxuriant vegetation. We owe this plant to the voyages of Bougainville, Cook, and Bligh. Bougainville carried it to the Isle of France, whence it passed to Cayenne, Martinique, and since 1792 to the rest of the West India islands. The sugar-cane of Otaheite, the To of those islanders, is one of the most important acquisitions for which colonial agriculture is indebted to the travels of naturalists. It yields

not only one-third more of juice than the Creolean cane on the same space of land; but from the thickness of its stem, and the tenacity of its ligneous fibres, it furnishes much more fuel. This last advantage is important in the West Indies, where the destruction of the forests has for a long time obliged the planters to use the canes, deprived of their juice, to keep up the fire under the boilers. But for the knowledge of this new plant, the progress of agriculture on the continent of Spanish America, and the introduction of the East Indian and Java sugar, the revolutions of San Domingo, and the destruction of the great sugar plantations of that island, would have had a more sensible effect on the prices of colonial produce in Europe. The Otaheite sugar-cane was carried from the island of Trinidad to Caracas. From Caracas it passed to Cucuta and San Gil in New Grenada. In our days, its cultivation during twenty-five years has almost entirely removed the apprehension, which was at first entertained, that, transplanted to America, the plant would by degrees degenerate, and become as slender as the Creole cane. If it be a variety, it is a very constant one.

Various persons, and Depons among others, have stated, that the above cane degenerates in America; that the sugar extracted from it is not of such a good quality as that of the Creole cane; that it liquefies partially on the voyage, &c. These are errors now acknowledged by all the colonists.

There are in the colonies, as every-where else, a set of plodding men, who oppose useful discoveries with all the weight of their prejudices, vanity, and ignorance: these men refused to cultivate the Otaheite canes for four or five years; but at present, when they see them yield a third more sugar than the Creole cane, their interest has forced them into its cultivation.

It has also the advantage of giving very considerable produce during ten years, in grounds of ordinary fertility, and for fifteen or sixteen years in a fertile soil; whilst it is necessary to replant the Creole cane every two years in middling ground, and every four or five years in the best land: this is an inestimable advantage.

But what renders this vegetable still more precious, is the flexibility of its organization; or in other words, the property it has of accommodating itself to various temperatures, much more than the Creole cane. It is known that the latter scarcely gives any sugar, and that it is necessary to replant it every year, if it be wished to derive any produce from it in countries where Reaumur's thermometer descends, for some months only, below 15°. It is not so with the Otaheite cane. In Louisiana the cultivation of the sugar-cane had been almost abandoned previous to the French Revolution, because the Creole cane gave scarcely any sugar. The emigrants from San Domingo introduced that of the South Sea island; and although it does not produce as much there

as in the Antilles, still its cultivation is much more profitable than that of the Creole cane.

The third species, the violet sugar-cane, called Cana de Batavia, or de Guinea, is certainly indigenous in the island of Java, where it is cultivated in preference in the districts of Japara and Pasuruan. Its foliage is purple, and very broad; and it is preferred in Caracas for rum.

PLANTING.—The sugar-cane is propagated by itself. When it is cut to be passed through the mill, they lop off about one foot from its top, for the purpose of planting. The place assigned for the plantation is then marked out into squares, something like our gardens, that by planting them successively the canes of each square may ripen in the same order, allowing time to each to be cut, and the sugar fabricated, without the other canes suffering. The French call these squares *pièces de cannes;* they are generally of four squares; the English divide them by fifteen and twenty acres, which they call *plats.* The Creoles of Tierra Firme make their divisions of a hundred varas square, each vara of thirty-one inches three tenths of a French foot, and they call them *tablones:* at Havannah they make them double, and call them *canaverales*, which signifies also a piece of ground covered with sugar-canes. The tablones, or grounds planted with sugar-canes, are divided by hedges of a colossal gramen—the latta, or gynerium with distich leaves.

That time is chosen for planting of the sugar-cane, when, according to the order of the seasons,

rain may be expected. This choice is particularly observed where there is not a facility of irrigation: for the assistance of water is essential to the perfect germination of the plant. Without water the cane does not thrive, nor does it ever acquire, even though favoured by the season, that degree of vigour, and that saccharine juice, for which it is remarked when properly watered either by art or nature.

For planting the cane, holes are made with a hoe, which are fifteen inches long, ten wide, and six deep. In this work, which is the most laborious appertaining to the sugar plantation, only male Negroes and the most robust Negresses are employed. Each Negro can make, in ordinary ground, from sixty to eighty of these holes in a day; but if the ground has been previously ploughed, as is practised at Jamaica, a Negro can make double the number.

The distance between the holes must be determined by the nature of the soil. During a long time it was believed that they should be nearer each other, in proportion as the soil was richer; because the earth having more nutritious juices, could nourish a greater number of plants. This opinion was specious, but was soon exchanged for one more philosophical; and it has been perceived, that when the canes are too crowded, they must reciprocally impede each other's growth and maturity. Depriving themselves by this near approach of air and light, the two most potent agents

of their existence and vigour, they always present the aspect of abortions in place of thriving canes. It is sufficient to apply to poor and meagre land those principles which have been applied to ground of a fertile nature. The conclusion follows, that the canes should be planted distant in proportion to the fecundity of the soil: thus, in the poorest land they are planted three feet apart, and six feet in the richest.

Humboldt says, the Creole cane and the cane of Otaheite are planted in the month of April, the first at four, the second at five feet distance: it ripens in fourteen months.

Although the holes have only been made to the depth of six inches, yet the earth which has been dug out, being left on the edges, they appear to have a depth of more than a foot. Three cane plants are laid in each hole, and they are covered with only three inches of earth, and without pressure. This is the business of children, or of hands belonging to the plantations who are capable only of light work. The residue of the earth is left on the side of the pit, so that persons unacquainted with these labours would imagine the plantation not yet made.

When the plantation is in marshy ground, where there is apprehension that the plant will rot, care is taken not to lay the cane in the pit. One end of it only is put to the bottom of the pit, and the plant is placed in an inclined position, so that from four to five inches are above the ground.

This is called planting *en canon*, because the plant resembles a cannon pointed. Plantations of this kind never pay the expenses they occasion.

If it is determined absolutely to force nature, by establishing a sugar plantation on marshy ground, which will cost immense labour before it becomes productive, prudence and interest require that the ground should be previously drained. If the want of a declivity form an insuperable obstacle, one expedient remains, more tedious, yet still more advantageous to the land: Let the rain water be drawn from all parts, and collected upon the soil intended to be drained: having deposited the earthy particles with which it is charged, and become clear, it should be released by opening the sluices, and this operation should be repeated according as the rains permit. This process unites the double advantage of elevating the soil, and of producing a bed of vegetable earth, from which it derives peculiar fecundity. This kind of land is always too vigorous for the sugar-cane. The plant acquires an astonishing increase, but is so watery, that the most skilful refiner is unable to obtain sugar from it. This defect is corrected, by planting the ground with rice for two successive years. The planting of rice has the singular and double advantage of elevating the land by the stocks it leaves, and of subduing it by drawing off the subtile juices. When the rice ceases to be productive, the sugar-cane replaces it very advantageously. This me-

thod of correcting marshy grounds, through the assistance of rain water, is doubly serviceable to lands in the neighbourhood of the sea, because it frees them at the same time from those saline particles which are unfriendly to vegetation.

WEEDING.—At the end of five days or more, or ten at the utmost, the young cane shows itself under the form of a single stalk, which is divided in a few days into two small, slender, and opposite leaves. In proportion as the young plant increases, it puts forth two leaves in the same order with the first. At this period it requires rain, or artificial watering. It soon becomes indispensably necessary to remove the weeds, which would otherwise choke it; and the application of the hoe must be two or three times repeated, until the cane becomes sufficiently strong to choke, in turn, every strange plant. On each weeding, attention should be given to cover the young plant with part of the earth left on the edges of each hole at the time of planting.

QUALITIES.—The sugar-cane ripens according to the season it experiences: rains retard, drought accelerates its maturity. Much depends also on the nature of the soil. In rich and moist lands the cane does not ripen under sixteen or seventeen months, while, in a light soil, it ripens two months earlier. In the ninth month, the plant begins to cast its leaves. Those nearest the foot of the cane fall first, and the others in succession; so that by the time the plant arrives at

maturity, the cluster of leaves which terminates it alone remains.

At the same time the cane assumes a yellow colour, an infallible sign of the good quality of the sugar it contains. It is not thus with the canes of marshy lands, and hollows or bottoms; they retain the green colour, whatever may be their age, and thus announce to the refiner the difficulty he will experience in obtaining the sugar.

The distance of the joints furnishes also a certain criterion to determine the quality of the cane: in proportion as they are nearer to each other, the plant is inferior.

It is of importance in the manufacture of sugar to take the cane at the true point of its maturity. Before this period it will yield much water, and but little sugar. If it is over ripe, a much smaller quantity of sugar is obtained than the cane would yield if taken at the proper time; the manufacture will also be more difficult, and the quality inferior. Accidents too often render it necessary to pass canes which are not ripe to the mill: for instance, when a fire consumes all that is combustible in a field of canes, or when a furious hurricane has beat down the canes already too far advanced to admit the hope that they will rise again. It is, in these cases, more prudent to make nothing but syrup: the attempt to make sugar may be fruitless; and the process of the fabrication may occupy so much time, that a great portion of the

canes will become heated to such a degree as no longer to yield even syrup.

CUTTING—SHOOTS.—The sugar-cane should be cut with a bill (sorpe) very near the root, and at a small distance from the cluster of leaves at the summit. A piece of the tender part of the cane, near the summit, is then retained for the purpose of planting.

After the large canes, or the first which proceed from the plant, are removed, the young shoots are left, and require only weeding and fair weather. Good land furnishes as many as five crops of shoots; that is to say, one may cut a plantation of canes five times without replanting.

At each cutting, however, the quantity of sugar is less. A piece of cane of four squares, which yields, at the first cutting, seven hundred forms of rough sugar, each weighing fifty-four pounds, will give from its first shoots only six hundred forms; the second shoots, five hundred; the third, four hundred and twenty, and so on in like proportion. In bad ground, the disproportion is much greater. The second shoots in such plantations rarely yield half the quantity furnished at the first cutting by the large canes. They are therefore replanted as often as the strength of the establishment will permit.

It flowers in the month of October if the plant be sufficiently vigorous; but the top is cut off before the panicle is unfolded. In all the monocotyledonous plants, (the maguey cultivated at

Mexico for extracting the pulque, the wine-yielding palm tree, and the sugar-cane), the flowering alters the quality of the juices.

GRINDING.—The season of the year in which the cane is cut, influences much the quantity of sugar obtained from it. During November and the four succeeding months, it yields a third more sugar than in the other seven months. This rule is general, but varies in particular places. In the northern part of San Domingo, much advantage results from grinding, or making sugar, in the season now named, but without the difference being so great as to prevent its manufacture during the rest of the year. In the western and southern parts of the same island, all the labour of the plantation that relates to the grinding or manufacture of the sugar, is exclusively performed in the good season. In Tierra Firme they manufacture sugar during the whole of the year; but there, as in the other places, the five months now mentioned are preferred.

The labours of the sugar plantation must be so distributed, that the different operations go on at the same time. While some Negroes cut the canes, others convey them to the mill, where they are ground as fast as they arrive. The juice extracted from the cane is immediately subjected to the process for converting it into sugar. Every thing must be done at once. If the sugar-cane is not pressed as soon as cut, it undergoes a fermentation, which affects the saccharine parts,

rendering the manufacture very difficult, and the results less favourable. If the juice of the cane be not exposed to the fire as soon as expressed, it contracts a degree of acidity which greatly embarrasses the refiner. The West India colonists are so well convinced of the celerity requisite in these different operations, that, from the moment when they begin to cut the cane, the labours of the plantation continue night and day. The Negroes are divided into four companies or relievers, like sailors in the navigation of a vessel, and there is no intermission except on Sunday.

MILLS.—The mill for expressing the canes is composed of three iron cylinders. One in the centre, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two, by means of teeth of iron or wood, at the upper parts of the three cylinders. These mills are worked by water or by mules. The former unites the valuable advantages of celerity and economy of animals. One water-mill, constructed with accurate dimensions, will furnish in twenty-four hours sufficient juice of the cane for a hundred and sixty forms of rough sugar, each weighing fifty-four pounds, unless poverty of soil or an unfriendly season should present impediments. A mill worked with mules, in whatever manner it may be conducted, will not furnish more than half the quantity. Those sugar-works in Tierra Firme which deserve the name of manufactories, have all water-mills. It would be unpardonable, in a country so well

watered, not to apply to this use that fluid, which is every-where to be obtained, and in as great quantities as can be desired.

MANUFACTURE.—The juice of the cane passes directly from the mill, through a canal, into a large basin, which is placed in the sugar-works, by the largest of five caldrons. The first caldron is the largest, usually fifty-four inches in diameter. It is in the last that the sugar receives the last degree of boiling.

These caldrons are placed in the same line, and by the side of each other: they are fixed in mason-work over a stove or kiln, the focus of which is under the last, and from which a cánal passes beneath the five caldrons, allowing the smoke to escape through a chimney by the side of the largest. The whole apparatus of these caldrons is in general placed behind the wall of the sugar-house. But a short time previous to the Revolution they began to adopt a method of erecting the apparatus in the middle of the sugar-house, with a view to employ two skimmers at each caldron, and to disengage the sugar more promptly and completely from all heterogeneous articles. To apparatus of this kind they adapted two caldrons of the fifth kind, and in such manner that each could have a stove or furnace under it, that the fire might be nourished by two mouths, and the boiling of the sugar hastened; for the experience of a century has proved, that the sugar is handsomer in proportion to the violence of the

ebullition. Modern chemistry will therefore have much difficulty in communicating to our colonies its apprehension lest a portion of the sugar should be burnt in the caldrons in which the syrup is boiled; and its advice, to effect the evaporation with less fire, will not be followed. Every thing is employed, on the contrary, to augment the action of the fire in the sugar-houses. An apparatus is well or ill made, a furnace or stove more or less perfect, in proportion as they facilitate the ebullition. To favour this operation still more, they employ for fuel the leaves which the canes cast off in ripening, and which have dried on the places where they fell. The cane which has passed through the mill and become dry, is employed also for the same purpose. It is observed, that a good workman obtains with the leaves and this a fire much more violent, and more equal, than that obtained with wood. There is also an advantage attending this kind of fuel, as the action of the fire can be moderated at pleasure. At the moment when the attendant ceases to throw this fuel into the stove, the violence of the heat is necessarily diminished, and this is very useful with regard to the just degree of boiling.

As soon as the boiling is sufficient, the fire is checked, that the sugar may be removed, without experiencing more ebullition at its own expense. This advantage cannot be obtained with wood of any kind; for it deposits in the furnace a bed of ardent coals, which maintains the vio-

lence of the fire much longer than is necessary, and reduces to a candied state that part of the sugar which is more immediately at the bottom of the caldron.

On Tierra Firme, where wood alone is used to manufacture sugar, they calculate the boiling by, including that which the sugar will acquire during its removal; but this estimate requires an accuracy of judgment so rarely met with, that the sugar most frequently either wants the requisite degree of boiling, or has exceeded it. In employing for fuel the leaves or straw, and the cane that has passed the mill, these inconveniencies are avoided, and the labour of Negroes, whom the Creoles employ to cut and transport the wood, is saved. Besides, when the season prevents the providing of wood, the grinding is necessarily suspended, and all the works suffer; while, with good stores of the refuse, these extraordinary labours may be saved, and at any time of the year the cane may be cut, and the sugar manufactured.

Constituent Parts.—Before we speak of the process by which sugar is extracted from the juice of the cane, it will be proper to notice the nature of its constituent parts. But how shall we decide a question in which there is so much difference of opinion? Chemistry will be long involved in doubts and conjectures with regard to sugar.

Some chemists maintain, that the heterogeneous materials of sugar are a fecula, or sediment,

an extract, and a colouring matter, which become separated by evaporation. Others think, that it is *only* necessary to obtain by simple evaporation and the action of fire a diminution of the water, and a reunion of the particles of sugar, thus facilitating the coagulation and separation of the feculæ and the colouring matter.

There are some who consider sugar as a saline substance, and as holding a middle station between mucilage and essential salts.

English planters reckon in its composition eight parts of water, one of sugar, and one of thick oil and mucilaginous gums, with a portion of essential oil; and it is on these principles that they manufacture sugar.

French colonists merely suppose that the juice is composed of a great portion of superabundant water which evaporates by ebullition, and some acids or mucilages, from which it is necessary to disengage the saccharine part. To produce neutralization, they oppose to those acids a proportionate quantity of alkali, in order that the effervescence made by the alkali with the acid, assisted by ebullition, may exhibit them under the form of a saponaceous scum, which is removed with skimmers made for that purpose.

USE OF ALKALI.—The agents employed to alkalize the juice of the cane, are quicklime, ashes, potash, &c. They have not found any vegetable alkali to produce as good effects. Some, however, of the systematic colonists have chosen to

depart from the customary usage, through an expectation of some useful discovery. But their experiments have generally been made at the expense of their interests; and, according to the docility or obstinacy of their characters, they have sooner or later resumed that method which self-love had induced them to abandon. The only allowable variation is, according to the nature of the soil, to complete the alkalization with potash in the third or fourth caldron, after quicklime has already extracted the greatest part of the mucilages and other heterogeneous articles.

The ashes of common wood injure materially the quality of the sugar; rendering it brown, without crystals and without consistence.

It is some time since an inhabitant of Jamaica fell on a plan of alkalizing sugar with the ashes of the pimento tree, of fern, or of Campeachy wood. The advantages resulting from this method were verified, published, and compensated by the colonial assembly. It decreed to Mr Bousie, author of the discovery, the sum of L.1000 sterling. The use of lime was on the point of experiencing a disgraceful proscription, when it was ascertained by commerce that sugar alkalized in this manner would not bear the sea because these ashes evidently impeded the intimate union of the particles. Lime recovered therefore the consideration it had begun to lose and the system of Mr Bousie obtained only from public generosity a publication, in which it was

declared that lime and ashes might be conjointly employed, provided the refiner was skilful in combining them.

It is from the just proportion of the alkali to the heterogeneous parts, that we must hope for the handsomest sugar. The great art of the refiner is therefore to ascertain this point. The nature of the canes which furnished the juice, the lands in which they were cultivated, and the season which prevailed during their maturity, announce that a greater or less degree of alkali is necessary. The appearance, odour, and taste of the juice itself, indicate also whether little or much alkali is required. But these signs are merely approximative. They only become precise and infallible in the course of the manufacture; and as it is infinitely more easy to correct defects arising from too little than from too much lime, the refiner uses at first but two-thirds of the quantity that he thinks requisite for perfect saturation. The lime is thrown into the first or great caldron, the liquid being cold. The juice is slightly agitated, that the lime may be equally diffused. A conflict presently ensues between the alkali and the acid or mucilaginous parts; and these are thrown by the strong ebullition to the surface under the form of a scum, in which the eye and the touch recognize saponaceous properties.

In the province of Caracas, subcarbonate of potash is used, instead of lime, to purify the

juice of the sugar-cane. The ashes of the bucare, which is the erythrina corallodendron, are preferred.

SKIMMING.—One Negro at least to each caldron is constantly employed in removing the scum; and frequently one is not sufficient. The skimmer performs without dispute the most important part in the manufacture of sugar. From his activity results the good or bad quality. All the other conditions necessary to produce handsome sugar will be of no avail, if it is badly skimmed. This operation is begun in the second caldron; sometimes, but rarely, in the first.

PROGNOSTICS.—The scum is at first of blackish hue, and extremely thick, but in consequence of being removed it acquires a more yellow colour. When it adheres to the skimmer, and the ebullition is large, dilatory, and of dull hue, the alkali is judged insufficient. The quantity of lime is then augmented by degrees, till this indication is no longer furnished.

The juice is poured from the first into the second caldron, where it experiences an ebullition of half an hour, during which time the skimmer is constantly passed over its surface; it is thence emptied into the third, where it is skimmed anew. From that caldron it is passed into the fourth, where it remains till it gives unequivocal signs of cleanliness, and is then removed to the fifth, in which nothing is necessary but to complete the boiling: so that the successive de-

cantation from one caldron to the other, furnishes signs that the syrup is sufficiently clean to be admitted to the fifth.

When, on the contrary, the scum passes easily through the holes of the skimmer, and the ebullition is small, it indicates an excess of alkali, by which the quality of the sugar will be affected. It will neither have the whiteness nor the grain it would otherwise have possessed. This defect is imperfectly remedied by adding fresh unalkalized juice of the cane, that it may become charged with part of the superabundant alkali. But the evil can only be palliated, it cannot be completely removed.

It often happens that the canes have not sufficient water to hold them in solution till the scum is completely extracted. When the refiner perceives that the scum continues foul, and that the juice of the cane acquires too rapidly a consistence unfavourable to its development, he throws more water into the caldron to prolong the dissolution. The ebullition or bubbles of a middling size, well detached and sparkling, a balsamic odour from the third and fourth caldrons, are certain signs of the good quality of the sugar, and its good manufacture. When the bubbles in the fifth are large, excessively agitated, and make explosions, we must expect sugar of bad quality, which incrustates with difficulty, or not at all. The excessive quantity of water, which the process of the manufacture has not been able to

carry off, holds it in a state of liquidity, and condemns it to remain syrup.

Boiling.—The talent of boiling sugar well is very highly appreciated in the colonies, as on the just degree of it depends the ultimate fate of the article. If the boiling be too violent, a part of the essential salt burns and diminishes the quantity, and the excessive union (or consolidation) of the particles resists the process of claying; for the molasses, which it is necessary to extract in whitening, forms with the sugar a substance which the water used in purification cannot penetrate. If the boiling is too feeble, the incrustation of the sugar is imperfect, and the water used in claying, not finding the necessary resistance, carries off much of the sugar in the form of syrup. Each form of rough sugar weighs, in the French colonies, fifty-four pounds. It is reduced to forty-one or forty-two by the process of claying; but if the sugar is not sufficiently boiled, and the process of claying is attempted in the same manner as though it had been well boiled, it is reduced to thirty-two or thirty-three pounds. For this reason, when it is intended to sell the sugar in its rough state, it must receive a greater degree of boiling than when it is to be clayed.

The mode of ascertaining the boiling of the sugar is simple and infallible. One of the large copper ladles, used to decant the juice, is plunged into the fifth caldron, and immediately withdrawn. By the quantity of the syrup which adheres to the

sides of the ladle, the degree of thickness is perceived. When this sign indicates that the point of boiling approaches, the ladle is replunged, and as much of the article taken from the back of it as the thumb can carry ;—the index, or fore-finger, is then applied to this portion of the liquid; at the same time the thumb is dropped and the index elevated. The syrup forms a thread, which should break when the fingers are two inches apart, and retire on itself in form of a cork-screw, toward the matter remaining on the thumb. This is called with reason the proof, for there is in fact none better. Chemists have desired to substitute instruments to which they have in vain guaranteed infallibility; for the results are erroneous according to the different nature of the cane which produced the sugar. They have finally been compelled to admit, that chance has procured for the colonies a criterion superior to any that art is able to invent. The inexperienced refiner does not at first accommodate himself to this mode of graduating the boiling, because it offends the delicate skin of his fingers; but, as he advances, the skin hardens, and becomes so callous as to experience no pain. A refiner of the colonies may be easily recognized, merely by inspecting the thumb and finger of his right hand, in like manner as they detect disguised sailors in England, by the callous skin on the palms of their hands.

The feebleness of the boiling is known by the difficulty with which the thread forms; its excess,

by the difficulty with which the thread retires when broken.

As soon as the desired indication is obtained, the fire is checked and the sugar promptly drawn off.—Two Negroes, and sometimes three, each having a ladle of ten or twelve feet, empty the sugar, at once, into a caldron placed under the ground of the sugar-house by the side of the fifth caldron.

Crystallization.—After half an hour the sugar is stirred in this new caldron, that it may granulate equally. For this purpose a wooden spatula, nearly three feet long, called *mouveron*, is used. The sugar is presently removed from this caldron to another, larger and more distant from the apparatus, where it is left till it forms an ice or crust, a line in thickness. This crust shows both the quality of the sugar, and the degree of boiling. If it be green toward the centre, the sugar is not good; if it be too friable, or brittle, the sugar is too much boiled; if not sufficiently so, the boiling has been too feeble. The just point of boiling has been acquired, when, applying the hand lightly to the crust, it bends and resumes its level. If it break too easily, the boiling was in excess; if it do not resume the level, the boiling was deficient.

Moulds or Forms.—While the sugar is in this caldron, large earthen moulds or forms are placed in the sugar-house, at a distance from the apparatus, having been kept two or three hours

in water, and well washed. They are placed beside each other, the point down, the hole at the point being carefully closed with a stopper of straw. As many forms are employed as are supposed sufficient to contain the matter that has been boiled: the sugar is then put in them while still liquid. This operation has also its particular mode. For this purpose a copper pan with two handles, and of convenient form, is employed. It contains nearly four pots of liquid, and is filled with the article to be transposed. The Negro who performs this task is careful not to empty the pan into one mould, but to distribute it among several, so that they may be filled at the same time. This precaution is necessary, that the liquid part of the sugar may not be contained in some forms, and all the grain in others, but that the distribution may be perfectly equal.

Stirring.—After an hour has elapsed, the sugar in the moulds, still in a state of liquefaction, requires another stirring, not less essential than the preceding. The object is to remove the grain of the sugar which has adhered, through its own weight, to the bottom and sides of the mould, and to divide it equally throughout the mould, precisely at the moment when the cooling of the contents gives to the sugar such consistence as will prevent the grain from precipitating anew. The success to be expected from this operation, depends entirely on the moment in which it is performed. It is called *stirring the sugar*. If

the sugar be too warm, it disturbs the harmony of the formation of the grain, and removes without advantage that which is deposited at the bottom, and on the sides, to the mould. If it be too cold, it has already become too thick to answer the wish of the refiner.

Practice has furnished a means of seizing the instant in which the sugar should be stirred. The refiner plunges the spatula to the bottom of the mould, and leaves it to rise alone. According to the rapidity or slowness with which it reascends, he judges that it is too soon or too late. Quickness indicates that it is not yet time; slowness shews that the time is past. A just medium announces the precise moment.

He who performs the operation of stirring, should apply the spatula to the sides, and remove it directly to the middle of the mould. The grain is thus detached from the sides, and distributed throughout the form.

Signs.—The sugar in cooling forms a crust on the surface, more or less thick, the middle of which presently sinks, leaving a kind of circle adhering to the mould, which resembles a plate with the bottom out. This circle is called the collar. It should be about three inches in size, to satisfy the wishes of the refiner. If the circle is narrower, it is a proof that the sugar has not been sufficiently boiled; and the reverse, if the circle is large. This crust is called the *fountain*, because there is a hole in the centre, where there

always remains a little syrup, that has not been crystallized: it furnishes also proof with regard to the quantity of alkali employed. If this crust is fat, and the hand on being applied to it comes off with more or less mucilage, it is a proof that the sugar has not received sufficient lime. If, on the contrary, the crust is dry and brittle, lime has been used in excess. The colour of the crust furnishes at once two indications, with respect to the boiling and the alkali. A handsome golden colour announces that the sugar has been well manufactured, and well boiled; a pale yellow discloses the deficiency of alkali, and of boiling; dark yellow shows the excess of both.

When the sugar is perfectly cold, the forms, or moulds, are removed from the sugar-house to the place of purification, where they are placed on large earthen pots, with narrow openings, called *canaris*. But previously, the stopper of straw which closed the opening at the point of the form, is not only removed, but the contents is also pierced with a peg or pin, a foot and a half in length, which is immediately withdrawn. This is called *piercing the form*. The hole thus made must be exactly in the centre, that the water of terrage or claying may filter equally through all parts of the form, and give it a uniform whiteness. If it be not pierced in the centre, the water proceeds to the vacancy; the side of the form toward which the whole inclines receiving the fluid intended for the whole form: the sugar

itself is therefore carried away by the weight of the water, and becomes full of crevices; while the opposite side, deprived of the water it should receive, remains black, without experiencing any advantages from the claying. The same inconveniencies occur to the form which has not been placed perfectly perpendicular on the canari. The side inclined receives all the water, and that opposite retains its molasses.

CLAYING.—The sugar is left to drain on the canaris, during five or six days; after which it undergoes the process of claying. The whole of the fountain, or crust on the surface, is removed. The sugar is well mixed with a kind of trowel, and a layer of sugar already blanched is placed on it, which is united with it as well as can be effected without pressure. The vacancy of about two inches, remaining in the form or mould, is then filled with a paste of black earth, well divided. The water which drains from this earth penetrates throughout the form, and conveys with it into the canari all the molasses to be carried off. When this earth becomes dry, water is poured on it. This is called giving it a refreshment. The sugar generally receives two supplies of earth, and to each two refreshments.

DRYING.—After the last earth is removed, the sugar is left to drain during twelve days. A fine day is then chosen for exposing it to the sun, from ten until three o'clock. For this purpose it is removed from the form or mould. This is

called *loosening the sugar.* The form is placed on straw, with the small end uppermost; it is then struck with both hands so gently as not to break the form, or bruise the sugar, but with sufficient force to detach it. This generally happens about the third or fourth stroke. The sugar is exposed to the sun, that it may acquire a consistence which will bear handling, without being broken. After three o'clock it is carried to the stove. This is a building of masonry, twenty feet square, more or less, and thirty feet high, without other opening than a small door which closes hermetically, and which opens into the place of purification. It bears some resemblance in form to a tower of our country steeples. In one of the exterior sides there is an opening two feet square, even with the ground, to which is adapted, in masonry, a canopy of beaten iron, of which all the cavity is within the stove. In this place the fire and the wood are put, which it is necessary to nourish both day and night. The smoke escapes by the same avenue through which the fuel is supplied, in order that it may not penetrate the stove. The heat is kept up to the fortieth or fiftieth degree of Reaumur's thermometer. In the interior three or four stages of boards, arranged in the form of a grate or lattice, are prepared, on which the sugar is placed. Twelve or fifteen days are sufficient to give it a solidity which it will retain two or three years, provided it is preserved from water and excessive humidity.

When the sugar is removed from the stove, it is broken or pounded, put up in hogsheads, and delivered in commerce.

Boiling the Syrup.—The syrup which drains from the forms into the canaris, undergoes a new action of fire, and furnishes sugar, more porous than the former, but almost equally marketable; and it passes through the same process of claying. From the syrup which again results, another sugar of an inferior quality is produced: finally, the last syrup is sold to distillers, for the purpose of making rum.

The Creole Refiners.—It is very necessary that the Creoles of the eastern parts of Tierra Firme should pursue the same order in the operations relative to sugar. Ashes form the greatest part of the alkali they employ. Hence it happens, that, notwithstanding the richness of soil, their sugar never equals that of the colonies, either in crystallization or whiteness. Their manner of claying is equally exceptionable. The earth, not being well divided, does not compel the water to filter through with sufficient slowness; but allows it, on the contrary, to escape so rapidly, that it carries off in its course much of the sugar, which falls with the syrup. This prejudice is the more remarkable, as they do not boil again even the grosser or first syrup. Their places of purification, far from presenting the agreeable aspect of a parterre well kept, resemble receptacles of filth, into which one cannot enter

without being mired in the syrup. They do not use canaris, but place the forms of sugar, destined for blanching, on a kind of plank elevated four feet. Each line of forms discharges the syrup into a canal of wood, which conducts it to a basin in which all the canals empty. It has been observed, that this saves the expense of canaris, and of transporting the syrup to the general reservoir; but by this proceeding, they lose more in syrup than the price of the canaris. Besides, the cleanliness of a building, where the eye may contemplate the products of a culture, without the pleasure being disturbed by the disgusting sight of the filth from the syrup, should certainly be taken into calculation.

Their mode of drying the sugar also, is far from presenting the same advantages as ours. They spread the sugar upon an elevated platform, covered by a grooved roof. In fair weather they shove aside the roof, and the sugar receives the drying rays of the sun. Excepting at such times the roof is not removed, and the sugar has time to regain during the rains, or from the dampness of the nights, that humidity which a few hours of the sun had imbibed. These transitions from dry to damp, and from damp to dry, cannot but destroy the grain of the sugar, and prevent it from acquiring the consistence necessary to render it durable.

In general, the fabrication of sugar at Tierra Firme, and above all the claying, are, and will

naturally be a long time behind-hand, because interest dictates to sell as sugar, a mass composed of all the molasses, and of eight-tenths of the mucilage, which experience has taught us to place in the rank of heterogeneous particles. This substance is divided in small loaves of sugar, to which they give the name of *papelons*. They generally weigh three pounds, and are worth a real, whilst a pound of white sugar is worth a real and a half. The poor, who subsist principally on papelon, procure this precious necessary at a small expense; and habit causes them to prefer it to clayed sugar, which costs more than four times as much.

For the fabrication of the guarapo, of which we have spoken at the commencement of this article, the papelon is much the best, because it contains the principles of fermentation in a superior degree to the clayed sugar.

As to the little consistence which the sugar can acquire by the means which they employ, it is almost unimportant, since the sugar is destined to be consumed on the spot as fast as manufactured; and not, like the sugar of our colonies, to be transported across the sea, deposited in magazines in the mother-country, and perhaps afterwards to be sent to the north of Europe. It would therefore be useless, perhaps injurious, to the interests of the planter of Tierra Firme, to deprive the sugar of a humidity which augments its weight, and increases its proceeds.

It would not be surprising, however, if the manufacture of sugar should shortly undergo an advantageous reform in these provinces. Indeed Humboldt says, that for some years past the culture and fabrication of sugar has been much improved in Tierra Firme; and, as the process of refining is not permitted by the laws at Jamaica, they reckon on the fraudulent exportation of refined sugar to the English colonies. But the consumption of the provinces of Venezuela, either in papelon, or in raw sugar, employed for the fabrication of chocolate and sweet-meats, (dulces), is so enormous, that the exportation has been hitherto entirely null. The finest plantations of sugar are in the valleys of Aragua, and of the Tuy,* near Pao de Zarate, between La Victoria and San Sebastian,† near Guatire, Guarenas, and Caurimare.‡ If the first canes arrived in the New World from the Canary Islands, it is also in general Canarians, or Islengos, who are now placed at the head of the great plantations, and who superintend the labours of cultivation and refining.

On the process of extracting the sugar, many treatises have been written. The best perhaps is

* Tapatapa, or La Trinidad, Cura, Mocundo, El Palmar.

† For instance, the Hacienda de Santa Rosa.

‡ Price in the valleys of Aragua: a papelon, or loaf of two pounds and a half weight, half a real de plata, or one-sixteenth of a piastre; one pound of raw sugar, one real; one pound of clayed sugar, from one real to one and a half.

that of M. Duthrone, a physician and planter of San Domingo. He was the first who had sugar pans made of copper, broader and shallower than the iron caldrons which are chiefly used in the sugar plantations: by their width and shallowness they save both fuel and time, because the syrup boils and changes sooner into sugar in those boilers than in the former ones, which are much deeper. In them the syrup is stirred and skimmed more easily, which diminishes the labour of the refiner. It is also remarked, that the sugar made in those pans has a lighter and more agreeable colour, than that which has been boiled in iron. When an iron caldron breaks, or becomes perforated, it is necessary to destroy the masonry of the furnace to replace it with another, which wastes much time, and sometimes spoils several quintals of syrup; but when a copper caldron meets this accident, there is no further trouble than in soldering a patch on it, which can be done in half an hour. These, and many other reasons, might be cited to induce the Spanish cultivators to abandon the use of iron caldrons, as the English planters have done at Jamaica, and in almost all their other colonies.

SECTION IV.

COFFEE.

The colonies of every other nation have for more than fifty years carried on a considerable commerce in this article, while in the Spanish possessions it was uniformly cultivated merely for domestic consumption. However, not only all the new plantations, commenced since 1796 in the valleys of Aragua, are in coffee, but many of the inhabitants have abandoned cacao and indigo, and cultivated it in preference. This has been principally occasioned by the long war from 1793 to 1801: the seas, covered with English cruisers, offering no prospect to commerce but that of inevitable losses, the communication with the mother-country was cut off, and the different articles of produce remained in the hands of the colonists, at least that of cacao. It is well known that cacao will not keep for more than ten months or a year, and that after such time it loses its value: it was natural, therefore, for the colonists to substitute in its place another produce of quicker sale, or which might wait in the magazines for a change in politics, with less risk of damage than cacao; and the article which presented these advantages was coffee.

It must not be supposed, however, that this culture has attained all the increase of which it is

susceptible in a soil so extensive and fertile as that of Tierra Firme. The quantity produced, independent of what is used for domestic consumption, does not exceed one million pounds.

SOIL.—All land within the extent of sixty leagues crossed by the line, is suitable for the cultivation of coffee, excepting land composed of hard and cold clay, or light and sandy ground on a bed of marl. The leaves of the coffee planted in such soils turn yellow, and the tree perishes or is barren. It requires, in preference, a soil new and free, a little elevated, where the coolness and the rains moderate the excessive heat of the torrid zone, which would overpower the plant if exposed to all its violence.

A rule equally easy and invariable in forming a coffee plantation, is to choose land newly cleared. The size of the trees is the most certain standard by which to judge of the fertility of the soil. Mountains or hills, the elevation is unimportant, provided the thermometer of Reaumur never descends below ten or twelve degrees. The plantation should be exposed as little as possible to the north; but this precaution is more necessary in the Antilles than at Tierra Firme, particularly if at a sufficient distance from the sea to be protected from the salt air, which withers the coffee.

The first operation necessary in forming a coffee plantation is to clear away the trees; and the manner of doing this depends upon the character of the land. If it be level, or only in gentle

declivities, it should be carefully cleared of the stumps, after having burnt all which the axe could reach. But if the soil be mountainous, the stumps are necessary to prevent the ravages made by the torrents, which sweep away with them, more or less rapidly in proportion to the violence of the rains, the bed of vegetable earth which is the depository of all the principles of fertility. Many plantations have been rendered sterile as soon as cleared by the neglect of this precaution.

PLANTING.—The land destined for the coffee being well cleared, holes are made for the new plant, in such order as the planter may think proper, and at the distance required by the ground.

The cultivation of coffee is not sufficiently advanced in Tierra Firme, nor the soil sufficiently scrutinized, to warrant the adopting any other method than that of planting the coffee in parallel lines, more or less distant from each other, and the holes more or less separated. But the time will probably arrive when industry, eager to convert every thing to profit, will not disdain to avail itself of the results effected by the talents and emulation of its neighbours. It is for such a period that we would recommend the method of planting in triangles, a method the more profitable, since it saves nearly the sixth part of the land.

A square of ground planted in triangles of seven plants, gives two thousand nine hundred and twenty-six coffee plants; if in squares of seven plants, it only gives two thousand five hun-

dred; if in squares of ten, it gives twelve hundred and twenty-five; if in triangles of ten, it yields fourteen hundred and forty-one.

To plant in triangles, a cord must be stretched, divided by knots at the proposed distances. Suppose seven: place a coffee plant at each knot. For the second range, have two sticks of seven feet in length: place the end of one of the sticks at the last plant, and the end of the other stick at the first; bring the other ends of the sticks to touch, and they form the summit of an equilateral triangle. At the point thus formed, place a stake, to which fasten the cord divided by knots. The same operation is observed at the end of the cord. It is fixed, and a plant of coffee deposited at each knot. The other ranges are formed in the same manner.

In whatever manner the planting is performed, the distance of the holes should always be proportioned to the richness of the soil; the more fertile the land, the greater should be the distance between the plants. This, like all other useful truths, had to combat with custom and prejudice, but experience soon ensured to it in our colonies the respect due to true principles. In fact, it was natural to suppose that, on an equal surface, a greater number of plants would yield more coffee than a less one. The influence of light and air on vegetation was not as yet theoretically known there. They groped on in the majestic career of the operations of nature. They made

all kinds of experiments, and the preference was given to that which succeeded the best. As they are instigated to these observations rather by the avidity of riches than the love of science, they avail themselves of the results without analyzing the causes.

It was the custom, at first, to place the coffee plants at the same distance in every kind of soil, and interest dictated to plant them very close. The common distance was from four to five feet. After several years it was discovered, that this mode obtained good crops on poor land. Where the land was most fertile, the plants had the appearance of the greatest beauty when budding and flowering. They increased in size; their branches were entangled, and became so bushy, that the planter feared lest they should break under the load of fruit with which they promised to be burdened. But scarcely had they acquired this luxuriant appearance, when nature, exhausted by her premature liberality, ceased her benefits, and left the cultivator confounded and disheartened by so fatal a phenomenon. It was finally thought proper to increase the distance between the plants, and by degrees this distance was entirely regulated by the nature of the soil. In the poorest lands, it should not be less than four feet; and in the most fertile, never less than eight. Prudence and interest must point out the just proportion.

A judicious planter regulates also the depth of the holes to the quality of the soil. The deeper

the bed of vegetable earth, the deeper he makes the holes, and *vice versa;* for the grand object is to prevent the roots from penetrating to the stony stratum, and perishing. At all events, the coffee may be planted in grains or in shrubs, as is done at San Domingo;* but it neither yields

* "In order to procure the coffee plant, they go under the old trees and pull up the young bushes produced by the fall of the ripe fruit. They transport them in bundles from one plantation to another: after having cut off a part of their roots, they place them in the holes prepared for their reception. This method is defective; a great part of the plants procured in this manner, independent of the faults in their formation, which they may have acquired under the parent tree, are subject also to the disadvantage of having never been exposed to the ardour of the sun; they therefore present no certainty of success to the planter. The planters are often obliged to recommence their plantations for several successive years, before they are regularly established.

"I avoided this inconvenience, by an expedient which several planters have since adopted.

"I sowed the coffee grains at six inches distance, in a quincunx, in soil prepared for that purpose. The nursery that sprung from them was watered and treated with care: from thence I took the young plants necessary to form my plantations. When they were to be transplanted from the nursery, care was had to water the ground well, and the small plant was taken up with the earth which surrounded its roots.

"It may easily be imagined that the plants thus transported from the nursery would suffer no alteration nor delay in their vegetation; the plantations also were regular. Very few plants had need to be replaced; none were defective in their formation: they were all accustomed to the scorching heat of the sun; and I tempered the effect of it on the soil where the plants were placed, by heaping flints around them,

as much, nor as quickly, neither does it endure so long, as if taken from a nursery.—The choice of soil for the nurseries demands more attention than would be supposed. If the soil be ungrateful, the plant will not have the requisite quantity of that animating principle which constitutes its vigour, and removal to a better soil will never remedy this original defect. If, on the contrary, the soil of the nursery is much richer than that of the plantation, the young plant will not find in the new soil to which it is translated, an equal quantity of that carbonic acid which contributes so powerfully to augment the energy of vegetable life; and it will inevitably decay.

It is rare, however, that the failure of plantations is ascribed to this cause, when every appearance would otherwise warrant their perfect success.

The young plants should be taken up with all their roots, and planted in the same state. They should be two feet high. They are covered with earth two inches above their roots, and cut at ten inches above the surface of the earth, leaving nothing but the stem.

which preserved a freshness even in the driest season. All those coffee plants offered the advantages of being handsomer, stronger, and yielding sooner than those of my neighbours planted at the same time according to the ancient manner. I am assured also, that, even now, these plantations, although neglected like all those of San Domingo, are very beautiful." (Memoire sur le Caffier, by M. Bruley.)

The season for planting coffee is not very important in land which contains sufficient watery principles to perform the grand work of vegetation. But, in general, it is most advisable to plant shortly before the rains.

It is important to fruitfulness that the plants should be lopped off at a certain height, regulated by the quality of the soil. In the poorest land they are trimmed at two feet and a half, and in the best, at four or five feet. The planters of Tierra Firme allow their plants, commonly, a height of only four feet.—They maintain, with reason, that a greater elevation renders the harvest of the coffee difficult and imperfect. This attention, however, is not general; for there are many who do not lop the plants at all, and who suffer them to have their full growth, which nature has fixed at from twenty-four to twenty-six feet.

WEEDING.—The precautions necessary to be observed in planting the coffee, would be useless if not followed by those required in freeing the plants from the quantity of weeds, which dispute with them the nutritious matters and the principles of increase which they receive from the soil, the air, and the light. The coffee plants need assistance to conquer these enemies of their existence only during the first two years; for in proportion as their branches extend, they cover sufficient land to deprive the weeds of the air and light necessary to their propagation and increase.

M. Bruley observes very properly, that it is more recommendable, for preventing the reproduction of the weeds, and the injury of the soil, to pull them up by hand, rather than destroy them with the hoe.

Between the ranges of the young coffee plants, sufficient vegetables may be raised for the consumption of the plantation. The prudent planter never fails to avail himself of the advantage which a cultivated soil offers, for having all vegetables he has occasion for, without any further trouble than that of planting them.

Unless great contrarieties happen in the season or the soil, the coffee plants give a light crop in the second year, and are in full bearing in the third. Each plant yields according to the nature of the soil. At San Domingo, they calculate one pound to a plant; at Jamaica, one pound and a half; and at Tierra Firme, two pounds.

Several causes are injurious to the coffee harvest. Drought is one. The plant requires much rain, excepting during the time of blossoming, for then the rains destroy the flowers and all prospect of fruit. A too great quantity of cherries with which the tree is loaded, is another. The tree cannot furnish sufficient of the nourishing juices for this superabundance of fruit; a great many grains are therefore spoiled. Another cause is the quantity of weeds, which, through the negligence of the cultivator, usurp a part of the nourishment from the young coffee plants:

they diminish the quantity of them, and singularly affect their quality. Insects, running vines of the nature of the mistletoe, &c. fogs and hurricanes, injure also the cultivation of coffee.

HARVEST.—We come now to speak of its harvest, an article the more important, since the beauty, goodness, and price of the coffee depends on the manner in which it is gathered and prepared. The process is simple and easy; it demands neither great talents, nor profound chemical information; it does not consist of a learned combination of matters, submitted to be analyzed, or destined to change their form and acquire new properties.

All that is necessary is the knowledge how to collect, clean, and dry the grain, without impairing those qualities which serve to augment its price and consumption, as nothing is requisite to attain this end but precision, and very simple machines; attention, care, and exactness, are more than sufficient to form a good manufacturer of coffee. It must not be supposed, however, that this simplicity is so great that it is impossible to prepare the coffee otherwise than well. This operation, like all the works of man, is subject to divers systems, and opposite opinions. We have not yet, and it is probable that we never shall have, a single art, whose principles and process are irrevocably recognized and observed by all those who cultivate it; and the fabrication of coffee is not sufficiently ancient in America, nor

sufficiently diffused, nor conducted theoretically enough, to form an exception to this general rule. It is necessary, therefore, that experience should form by degrees the path which should conduct to its perfection. To this effect, it is peculiarly useful that the various modes followed, not only by the different colonial nations, but also by each planter, should be known, in order that their results, of which commerce can only judge, should decide to which mode preference should be given.

The country entitled to the highest rank in the culture of coffee is Arabia Felix. Either from the superiority of its soil, or from the method observed there in preparing this article of produce, or perhaps from both, the coffee of this country commands three times the price of that of any other. The mere denomination of Mocha coffee commands this superiority. The preparation which it receives exacts, it is true, cares too minute and tedious to be entirely suitable to considerable plantations; but they are not, therefore, the less necessary to be known, that the principles may be adopted on which they are founded, and that they may be observed as far as localities will permit.

When the Arabian cultivator, says Mr Bryan Edwards, sees that his coffee is ripe, he spreads large cloths over the trees, which he shakes from time to time to make the ripe cherries fall. He never pulls one grain of coffee with the hand, whatever appearance it may have of maturity:

He considers none as ripe, but such as fall on lightly shaking the tree. This process, more or less rigorously observed, serves at least to confirm the principle, that perfect maturity is an essential requisite for obtaining good coffee.

The grains thus gathered are exposed to the sun on mats with their pulps, until they are perfectly dry; which requires a long time. Their dry envelope is then removed by means of a large stone cylinder, and they are replaced in the sun; for the planters of Yemen are persuaded that the coffee is apt to ferment, as long as it retains any particle of humidity. It is then winnowed, and packed in bales for merchandise. This practice indicates, that the coffee can never be too dry.

The English in their colonies follow nearly the following method. As soon as the cherries of the coffee acquire a deep red colour, they are sufficiently ripe to be collected. The Negroes employed in this work have a coarse linen bag, which is retained open by means of a hoop, placed in its mouth. It is suspended to the neck of the Negro who gathers; and he empties it into a large basket. If the Negro is in the least active, he can collect three bushels in a day. But he should not be hurried, lest, to accelerate his work, he should mingle green grains with those which are ripe. Each harvest is made in three jobs, because all the grains do not ripen together. At each time, those only are gathered which are perfectly mature. One hundred bushes of cherries, just

from the tree, yield about one thousand pounds of saleable coffee.

Drying.—The coffee is dried in two ways: the first is to place the cherries in the sun, in layers of four inches thick, on sloping terraces, or on inclined platforms.

They ferment in a few days, and the pulp discharges itself in the fermentation. The coffee is thus left until it is entirely dry, which is not less than three weeks. The skin of the cherries already broken is removed by mills made expressly for that purpose. In default of mills, recourse is had to mortars. The coffee, thus prepared, whatever be its quality, weighs five per cent more than that which has received a different preparation.

The other method is to separate at once the grain of the coffee from the pulp. This is done by an appropriate mill; and they are left to soak in water for twenty-four hours. After this operation, the grain is placed in the sun, that it may be promptly and perfectly dried.

These two manners of preparing coffee have each many advocates and many opposers. The latter, perhaps, is the most advantageous, being the most expeditious, but there is no doubt that the first best preserves the flavour of the coffee, particularly if attention be paid to prevent its too great fermentation on the terraces or platforms. This might easily be obviated by making the layer less thick, that is to say, in giving more room to the cherries which are to be dried.

It still remains to strip the grain of coffee from the pellicle with which it is immediately covered, and which is called *parchment.* For this also use is made of mills, which art, animated by interest, is simplifying and perfecting every day.

Lastly, Nothing further is wanting, than to winnow the coffee mingled with the grinding and dust of the parchment. This is effected by mills, of which the mechanism varies according to circumstances and judgment. The coffee is then put in bags, and sent for sale to the nearest sea-port.

THE CULTIVATORS OF TIERRA FIRME.—The Creoles of eastern Tierra Firme do not bestow as much care on their coffee as it receives from other nations. The disposition of nature, which seems inclined to give the Mocha coffee a dangerous rival in this country, so overwhelmed with her benefits, is thwarted by the carelessness of the planters. They particularly neglect the weeding of it; so much so, that the young plants have to struggle continually against the weeds which attack their existence.

The same negligence extends to their manner of gathering the coffee. The cherry which begins to redden, as well as that which is quite red, are indiscriminately gathered and delivered to the process of preparation, which is not itself exempt from defect. But every thing announces that these evils will not be of long duration.

Such are the accounts which M. Depons gives of this article. On these, Humboldt makes the following remarks:—

M. Depons having been able to give information respecting the state of commerce and agriculture only as far as the year 1804, it will not be uninteresting to add some documents more recent, and not less exact. The finest coffee plantations are now found in the savannah of Ocumare near Salamanca, and at Rincon, in the mountainous countries of Los Mariches, San Antonio Hatillo, and Los Budares. The coffee of the last three places, to the east of Caracas, is of a superior quality; but the trees bear a smaller quantity, which is attributed to the height of the spot, and the coolness of the climate. The greater plantations of the province of Venezuela, as Aguacates near Valencia, and Rincon, yield, in good years, a produce of three thousand quintals. In 1796, the total exportation of the province was only four thousand eight hundred quintals, and in 1804 ten thousand; yet it began in 1789.* The prices varied from six to eighteen piastres per quintal. At the Havannah it has sunk as low as three piastres; but at this period, so disastrous for the planters, in 1810 and 1812, more than two millions of quintals of coffee, amounting

* He obtained the following information from the custom-house of La Guayra:

Exportation of 1789—223 quintals, each 100 lbs of Castille.
1792—1481
1794—3646
1796—4847
1797—3095

in value to ten millions sterling, were accumulated in the warehouses of England.*

The extreme predilection entertained in this province for the culture of the coffee tree, is partly founded on the circumstance, that the berry can be preserved during a great number of years; whereas, notwithstanding every possible care, cacao spoils in the warehouses after ten or twelve months. During the long dissensions of the European powers, at a time when the mother-country was too weak to protect the commerce of the colonies, industry was directed in preference towards productions, of which the sale was less urgent, and could wait the chances of political and commercial events. In the coffee plantations the nurseries are formed, not so much by collecting together those young plants which accidentally rise under trees that have yielded a crop, as by exposing the seeds of coffee to germination, during five days, in heaps between plantain leaves. These seeds are taken out of the pulp, but yet retaining a part of it adherent to them. When this seed has germinated, it is sown, and produces plants that can bear the ardour of the sun better than those that spring up in the shade in the coffee plantations. In this country five thousand three hundred coffee trees are generally planted in a fanega of ground,

* Colquhoun on the Wealth of the British Empire, 1814, p. 332.

amounting to five thousand four hundred and seventy-six square toises.* This land, if it be capable of artificial irrigation, costs five hundred piastres in the northern part of the province. The coffee tree bears flowers only the second year, and its flowering lasts only twenty-four hours. At this time the shrub has a charming aspect; seen from afar, it appears covered with snow. The produce of the third year becomes very abundant. In plantations well weeded and watered, and recently cultivated, we find trees bearing sixteen, eighteen, and even twenty pounds of coffee. In general, however, a produce of more than a pound and half, or two pounds, cannot be expected from each plant; and even this is superior to the mean produce of the West India Islands. Rains at the time of flowering, the want of water for artificial irrigations, and a parasite plant, a new species of loranthus, which clings to the branches, are extremely injurious to the coffee trees. When, in plantations of eighty or a hundred thousand shrubs, we consider the immense quantity of organic matter contained in the pulpy berry of the coffee tree, we may be

* One fanega of Caracas and Cumana contains nearly three almudas, or 28,900 square varas, equal to 20,754 square metres. One fanega consequently is nearly equivalent to two hectares. A legal French acre of 1344 square toises, which produces in Europe, in land of a middling quality, 1200 pounds of corn, or 3000 pounds of potatoes, is a quarter of a fanega, and would produce, under the torrid zone, near 1700 pounds of coffee in a year.

astonished, that no attempts have been made to extract a spirituous liquor from them.*

If the troubles of San Domingo, the augmentation for a time of the price of colonial produce, and the emigration of French planters, were the first causes of the establishment of coffee plantations on the continent of America, in the island

* The berries heaped together produce a vinous fermentation, during which a very pleasant alcoholic smell is emitted. Placing at Caracas the ripe fruit of the coffee tree under an inverted jar, quite filled with water, and exposed to the rays of the sun, Humboldt remarked, that no extrication of gas took place in the first twenty-four hours. After thirty-six hours the berries became brown, and yielded gas. A thermometer, enclosed in the jar in contact with the fruit, kept at night 4° or 5° higher than the external air. In the space of eighty-seven hours, sixty berries, under various jars, yielded me from thirty-eight to forty cubic inches of a gas, which underwent no sensible diminution with nitrous gas. Though a great quantity of carbonic acid had been absorbed by the water, as it was produced, I still found 0·78 in the forty inches. The remainder, or 0·22, was nitrogen. The carbonic acid had not been formed by the absorption of the atmospheric oxygen. That which is evolved from the berries of the coffee tree slightly moistened, and placed in a phial with a glass stopple filled with air, contains alcohol in suspension; nearly as the foul air which is formed in our cellars during the fermentation of mast. On agitating the gas in contact with water, the latter acquires a decidedly alcoholic flavour. How many substances are perhaps contained in a state of suspension in those mixtures of carbonic acid and hydrogen, which are called deleterious miasmata, and which rise every-where under the tropics, in marshy grounds, on the shores of the sea, in the forests where the soil is strewed with dead leaves, rotten fruits, and putrefying insects!

of Cuba, and in Jamaica; their produce has far more then compensated the deficiency of the exportation from the French West India Islands. This produce has augmented in proportion to the population, the change of customs, and the increasing luxury of the nations of Europe. The island of San Domingo exported in 1780, in the time of M. Necker, near seventy-six millions of pounds* of coffee. The exportation in 1812 and the three preceding years, still amounted, according to the researches of Mr Colquhoun, to thirty-six millions.† The cultivation of the coffee tree, less fatiguing and less expensive than that of the sugar-cane, has not suffered so much from the domination of the blacks. The deficiency of forty millions of pounds is at present replaced by

26,500,000	pounds	produce of Jamaica,
20,000,000	—	produce of Cuba,
11,400,000	—	produce of Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Curaçoa,
5,000,000	—	produce of Venezuela,
13,000,000	—	produce of Java.‡
75,900,000	pounds.	

* Always French pounds, containing 9216 grains. 112 English pounds = 105 French pounds, and 110 Spanish pounds = 93 French pounds.

† The exportation from San Domingo to the English ports alone, amounted, from 1809 to 1811, one year with another, to 19,364,666 English pounds of coffee. Colquhoun, p. 331 and 378. Produce of the Caribbee Islands, fourteen millions of pounds. Produce of Cuba, in 1809 alone, 80,000 quintals.

‡ More than 100,000 pikuls, at 133 pounds each. M. Von Hogendorp thinks, that the island of Java, in its present

The total exportation of coffee from America to Europé now exceeds one hundred and six millions of pounds (French poids de marc). If we add to this quantity four or five millions from the Isles of France and Bourbon, and thirty millions from Arabia and Java, we shall find the whole consumption of Europe† in 1817 was not far from one hundred and forty millions of pounds. In the inquiries I made concerning colonial produce in 1810, I fixed on a smaller quantity.‡ This enormous consumption of coffee has not diminished that of tea, the exportation of which from China has augmented more than one-fourth in the last fifteen years.§ Tea could be cultivated as well as coffee in the mountainous parts of the provinces of Caracas and Cumana. Every climate is there found rising in stages one above another; and this new culture would succeed there as well as in the southern hemisphere, where the government of Brazil, nobly protecting at the same

state of civilization, but by means not very philanthropic, could furnish Europe with fifty millions of pounds of coffee. Raffle's Hist. of Java, vol. i. p. 129. 213.

† The consumption of France is generally estimated (rather high) at twenty-three millions of pounds. But the population of France is about one-sixth of that of all Europe.

‡ Essai Polit. sur le Mexique, vol. ii. p. 435.

§ The exportation of tea from Canton, from 1804 to 1806, was on a mean 260,000 pikuls, or thirty-one millions of pounds annually. The consumption of Great Britain exceeds twenty millions. See as above, vol. ii. p. 658; and Colquhoun, p. 334; Appendix, p. 8. 26. 34.

time industry and religious toleration, suffered at once the introduction of tea, of the Chinese, and of the dogmas of Fo. It is not yet a century since the first coffee trees were planted at Surinam and in the West India Islands, and already the produce of America amounts to fifteen millions of piastres, reckoning the quintal of coffee at fourteen piastres only.

SECTION V.

CACAO.

Being indigenous to America, cacao became one of the principal aliments of the Spaniards, as it had from time immemorial been that of the Indians. To the latter it also answered the purposes of money. One hundred and fifty cacao nuts were valued at a real of eight to the dollar. The relish for chocolate passed after the conquest into Spain, where in a little while it was used as generally as in America. It may even be said to have become, with the Spaniards, a want which precedes that of bread. It was introduced by the Spanish monks into France.

Chocolate is at present used throughout Europe. Each nation gives it a particular preparation, which, however, can differ only in the degree of thickness or liquidity which they allow it, or in

the quantity of sugar and the quality of the aromatics which they use in its composition. It is remarked also, that the southern nations prefer the oily cacao, whereas those of the north give preference to the dry and bitter.

Cultivation.—Plantations of cacao were speedily multiplied in Tierra Firme, and the soil so admirably seconded the labours of the planter, that in the produce abundance was united to excellence. The cacao of this quarter ranks next to that of Soconusco. It is well known, that the best commercial recommendation of cacao is that of coming from Caracas, or in other words, from Tierra Firme. But even in these provinces the quality varies. The cacao of Uritucu is superior to that of other places, and a quantity of equal bulk weighs twenty per cent more. The cacao of the coast comes next, and obtains a preference over that of the interior.

The plantations of cacao are all to the north of the chain of mountains which coast the sea, and in the interior country. The former extend from Cumana to the mouth of the Tocuyo; the latter are situate in the valleys of Tuy, Uritucu, Ocumare, Cura, Marrin, Tare, Santa Theresa, Santa Lucia, Zuapira, San Philippo, Barquisimeto, Valencia, Guigue, and Cariaco.

All kinds of soil are not equally adapted to the culture of cacao, still less are all exposures. An analysis of the soil destined to this culture never furnishes indications on which reliance can

be placed. No regard should be had to colour or quality; it is only requisite that it should be free to a certain depth, which is ascertained by the size of the trees with which it is covered: this sign determines the land proper for cacao.

A suitable situation is not so easily found. It should be exposed as little as possible to the north, and be on the borders of a river, which may communicate moisture to the soil in dry seasons, and which may receive its drainings in times of rain. A preference is particularly given to land which may receive from the river the benefits of irrigation, without being exposed to injury from its overflow.

After having chosen the land, it should be cleared of all trees, shrubs, and other plants. This operation is performed in various manners. It is customary in Tierra Firme to commence felling the trees immediately after the rains, that is, about the month of November: the wood, after being cut, is left to dry, then collected in heaps and burnt.

As soon as the new plantation is cleared, it is crossed with small ditches, in directions according to the declivity of the soil: these serve to drain the stagnant waters, to carry off the rains, and to irrigate or water the soil whenever necessary. The line is then laid out in which the cacao trees are to be arranged. They are planted in triangles or squares. In either case, there is always in the centre an alley, bordered by cacao trees, and

running from east to west. When they are planted in squares, this alley is crossed by another running from north to south. The cacao plants should be placed at fifteen or sixteen feet (French measure) from each other in good soil, and about thirteen or fourteen feet in soil of inferior quality.

This is almost the only tree in nature to which the enlivening beams of the sun are obnoxious. It requires to be sheltered from their ardour; and the mode of combining this protection with the principles of fertility, forms a very essential part of the talents which its cultivation demands. The cacao tree is mingled with other trees, which guard it from the rays of the sun, without depriving it of the benefit of their heat. The erytrine and the banana are employed for this purpose. The latter, by the rapidity of its growth, and the magnitude of its leaves, protect it for the first year. The erytrine endures at least as long as the cacao: it is not every soil, however, that agrees with it. It perishes after a while in sandy, in clayey soils; but it flourishes in such as combine those two species.

In the Antilles this protection cannot be given to cacao, as it would expose the plantation to destruction by every hurricane. Besides, the cacao succeeds but indifferently there, and is much less oily than in other parts.

The banana and the erytrine are planted in the same line with the cacao trees.

The quality of the soil, and the species of the erytrine, should determine the distance at which they should be placed. That kind which the Spaniards call *bucare anaveo*, is planted in a fertile soil, at the distance of two alleys, that is to say, at each second range of cacao trees. That which they call *bucare peonio*, is placed at the distance of three alleys in good soils (about forty-eight French feet).

The former species of erytrine is that which elevates itself the highest. The second species has many thorns, the upper surface of the leaf is darker, and the lower whiter. Both kinds should be cut in the wane of the moon, and remain in the shade until its increase, at which time they should be planted. It is much preferable, however, to take them from a nursery.

In one range of cacao trees a banana is placed between two cacaos, an erytrine between the two following. In the other range, a banana is placed between each cacao tree, and no erytrines; so that the latter are at a distance of two alleys. The banana and the erytrine are first planted, and when a shelter from the sun is thus provided, the hole for the cacao is made, around which are planted four stalks of the yucca plant, at the distance of two feet from each other. At the end of two months the cacao is planted; the smaller the plant is the better. There are, nevertheless, soils subject to worms, where the small plants do not answer; but, excepting in this particular, the

small plants are preferable, because the large require more labour for their transportation and planting, many of them die, and those which survive bud and shoot forth, but are never of any value.

The cacao plant should not exceed thirty-six inches in size when transplanted; if larger, it succeeds with difficulty, as will be shown.

The nurseries of cacao demand an excellent soil, well prepared, where the water does not remain. They should be well sheltered from the sun. Small knolls of earth are formed, in each of which are put two grains of cacao, in such a manner that they are parallel with the level of the ground. During the first twenty days the seeds are covered with two layers of banana or other leaves. If necessary, the ground is watered; but the water is not suffered to remain. The most suitable time for sowing is in November.

Where there is not a facility of watering, the planting of the cacao should take place in the rainy season; but where the former is practicable, it is best to plant in dry weather, and assist nature by irrigation, since it is then in the power of the cultivator to give the exact quantity of moisture necessary. But in all cases, care should be taken that the plants are not wet in the interval between their being taken out of the ground and replanted.

When the cultivation is from the seed, (which is never the case in the provinces of Caracas), two

grains of cacao are planted in the same manner as before described, so that they are on a level with the surface. They are then covered with a banana leaf, folded three times, on which is placed a small weight to keep it down. As soon as the seeds shoot forth, the banana leaf is removed. If both grains have sprouted, the feeblest plant is cut, to ensure the vigour of the other.

When the bananas grow old, they should be carefully felled, lest the cacaos should be injured by their accidental fall. They are totally removed as soon as the erytrines yield sufficient shade: this operation gives more air to the trees of the plantation, and encourages their growth.

Until the cacao plant attains four feet in height, it is trimmed to the stem. If it shoots forth several branches, they are reduced to three, at equal distances; and in proportion as the plant increases, the leaves which appear on the three branches are stripped off. If they bend much, and incline towards the earth, they are tied in bunches, so that the tree may not remain crooked. The branches which are trimmed, are cut at the distance of two fingers from the tree. The suckers which spring from the tree are also removed, as they only live at its expense.

Enemies.—The cacao trees should have sufficient shade to prevent their being burned by the sun. If they are much exposed to its rays, their branches are scattered, crack, and the tree dies. They are also infested with worms, which gnaw

their bark all around, then attack their interior and destroy them. The only remedy which has hitherto been found, is to employ people to kill these worms, which are deposited by a small scaly winged insect, which gnaws the tree: as soon as it hears the approach of its destroyers, it lets itself fall, and trusts to its wings for safety.

The colour of this insect is a mixture of ash-colour and white. If pressed, it emits a sound something similar to the noise of water thrown on a very hot substance. It has two small horns on its head, the points of which are directed upwards. It is so lively, that even when the head is separated from the body, it is a long time in dying. To depose its worms, it makes small holes in the tree.

At the commencement of the winter or rainy season, another worm makes its appearance, which devours the leaves of the young cacao plant. This species of worm is called *goaseme*; and they are some years so abundant, that all the people of the plantation are solely employed in destroying them. This worm is four inches in length, and of the thickness of a finger. It is called *angaripola*, or *Indian*, on account of the vivacity of its colours. It is believed that these worms are mediately produced by other large worms in the earth, from which are engendered butterflies, who lay their eggs on the leaves of the cacao. These eggs are full of small worms, which feed on the leaves of the cacao, and which

are in clusters of the size of a shilling. They are sought and destroyed with great attention, as they occasion considerable damage. Those which escape lodge themselves in the earth, and in the succeeding year are changed into butterflies. At the time when the worm makes its appearance, it is necessary to make fires, which should not be so large as to injure the cacao, yet sufficient to attract and burn the butterfly.

The plantations of cacao in the valley of Tuy, the quarters of Marin, Cuba, Sabana, Ocumare, San Francis, &c. are subject to another species of worm called *rasquilla.* It multiplies in the dry season.

There are small insects, called by the Spaniards *acerredores,* of the same figure with those which eat the bark of the cacao, but larger, and of a blackish colour. They eat the branches of the cacao. They are always found upon those branches which they have cut, and the evil can be obviated only by killing them.

The worms called *vachacos* occasion also much injury. They eat the leaves and the flower. To destroy them it is necessary to seek them in their nests in the earth. Water is thrown on the spot, and is stirred as in making mortar. By this means their young are crushed, and the evil is diminished, if it is not entirely removed.

A creeping plant often attaches itself to a branch of the cacao tree, which it covers and causes to wither, by nourishing itself with the

substance of the plant. The only remedy is to remove it: this forms the occupation of the Negroes on Sundays.

When the cacao trees are in a state of produce, they are subject to a disease called *taint*. This is a black taint or stain which attacks the trees, encircling them below, and kills them. The mode of preservation is to make, in the beginning, a slight notch that shall pierce the bark. But if the taint is extensive, it is necessary to cut all the affected part. It then discharges a liquid, and is healed. The bark remains of a violet colour in the part that has been tainted.

The other enemies of the cacao are the agouti, stag, squirrel, monkey, &c. The agouti produces most havock. Its ravages are not confined to what it eats: It occasions others still more injurious, by causing the fruit to fall which grows on the body of the tree. It often destroys in one night all the hopes of the proprietor.

The stag eats the husks or pods of the cacao, while yet tender, with so much voracity, that in the body of a stag killed on the banks of the Tuy there were found three hundred unmasticated. Stags are also fond of the buds, which they reach by standing on their hind feet; and on that account are more dangerous by reason of the tender age of the cacao plant. They produce further ravages by striking off the bark with their horns.

Squirrels eat only the liquid exudation of the cacao, without touching the grain; but the fruit

is thrown to the ground, and is either eaten by some other animal, or lost in the ditches made to carry off the water.

Monkeys devour the grain in the same manner as hogs. The Creoles call them *goarros*, of which there are several kinds. They occasion great destruction, as they eat the pods, small or large, and throw down with their paws the flowers and young fruit. To drive away all these animals, it is necessary to use a gun.

Birds are not at all less injurious to the cacao. The whole class of parrots, in particular the great ara, which destroys for the pleasure of destroying, and the parroquets, which come in numerous flocks, conspire also to ruin the plantations of cacao.

Preservation.—It is necessary that a cacao plantation should have always shade and irrigation: the branches of the plant should be cleared of the scurf that forms on them; the worms should be destroyed; no large herbs or shrubs should be permitted to grow; since the least disadvantage resulting therefrom would be the loss of all the fruit that should fall into these thickets. But it is most essential to deepen the trenches which carry off the water, in proportion as the plant increases in size, and as the roots of course pierce deeper; for if the trenches are left at a depth of three feet, while the roots are six feet in the earth, it follows, that the lower part of the cacao plant is in a situation of too great hu-

midity, and rots at the level of the water. Thi precaution contributes not only to make the plai tation more durable, but also to render the cro more productive. It is necessary also to abstai from cutting any branch from cacao plants alread in a state of produce. Such an operation migl occasion the subsequent crop to be stronger; bı the plants become enervated, and often perisl according to the quality of the earth and the nun ber of branches cut off.

If the earth of the plantations be pressed an trampled by animals, the duration of the plant diminished. Irrigation, made with judgmen maintains them long in a state of produce.

WITHERING.—The fruit of the cacao withe on the tree from three causes:—

First, When the plantation is, during a lor time, inundated with water. Plantations of caca which had only been covered with water thir hours, have had the fruit totally withered.

Second, Very abundant rains, particularly very damp valleys. This is only to be remedi by keeping the plantation well drained, that tl water may not remain on it.

Third, A want of necessary irrigation, and tl watering of the plantation under an ardent su The vapour from the earth withers the fruit. the rains are deficient for a time, and an exc sive rain succeeds, the fruit of the cacao al withers.

This desiccation or withering takes place everywhere; but, in some places, the surplus of fruit which the tree is unable to nourish is alone subject to it. In others, as Araguita and Caocaga, it withers in proportion to the northerly rains. The soil occasions another kind of withering: the pods become stinted, containing some good and some bad grains. The Creoles call this *defective.*

HARVEST.—The cacao gives two principal crops in a year; one about St John's Day, the other towards the end of December. The cacao also ripens and is gathered during the whole year. But in all seasons, the people of Tierra Firme make it a point, as far as possible, to collect their crops only at the decline of the moon, because, say they, experience proves that this precaution renders the cacao more solid, and less liable to spoil.

Don Fernando Blanco, an inhabitant of Caracas, maintained, however, that this was a ridiculous prejudice. He also observed, that the practice was impossible, since it would be necessary to make the whole harvest during fifteen days of the decline; but that in thus observing the phases of the moon, the cacao would never be gathered without much of the fruit rotting on the tree: great advantages would therefore be lost by suspending the harvest during the increase.

To collect the cacao, those Negroes and Indians are employed who have the sharpest sight,

—that only the ripe fruit may be gathered. The most-robust and active are chosen to carry it to the places where the grain is to be shaken out. The aged and maimed are employed to shake out the grain. This operation is performed on a place well swept, and covered with green leaves, on which they place the cacao. Some open the pod, and others strike out the grain with a small piece of wood, which must not be sharp, lest it should injure the grain.

The good and bad cacao must not be mingled together. There are four sorts of cacao in every crop; the ripe and in good condition, the green but sound, the worm-eaten, and the rotten. The first quality is best, the second is not bad; but the two others should be rejected.

As soon as that which is not fully ripe begins to show specks, it must be separated. As to the pods which are not perfectly ripe, they should remain in heaps during three days under green banana leaves, that they may ripen before they are hulled. When the cacao is put in store, great care is necessary not to leave among it any pieces of the pod or leaves, or any other excrementitious particles. This care must be repeated every time that it is removed from the store or replaced in it.

The cacao must always be exposed to the sun on the fourth day after it has been gathered, and this exposure should be daily repeated until it is perfectly dry. When that is the case, the grains

burst on being squeezed, their shell resounds when struck, and they no longer become heated on being placed in heaps: the latter is the best proof that the moisture injurious to their preservation is dissipated. If the cacao is not sufficiently exposed to the sun, it becomes mouldy; if too much, it withers and easily pulverizes; in either case it soon rots.

When the quantity of cacao gathered is considerable, it is placed in the sunshine by a hundred quintals at a time, unless the cultivator has a sufficient number of persons employed to expose a greater quantity: this operation is indispensable, to prevent it from becoming mouldy. If the rains prevent this exposure to the sun, it is necessary, as soon as it is sufficiently cleared or purified, to spread it in apartments, galleries, or halls, with which the plantations of cacao must be provided: this operation cannot be delayed without danger of losing the crop.

It is to be wished that stoves were employed to dry the cacao when the sun fails; but this expedient, so simple and important, is unknown in Tierra Firme.

It is almost universally believed, that the most essential precaution for preserving the cacao consists in gathering it at the decline of the moon. Depons believes that they may more seriously calculate on the care of depositing it in apartments so hermetically closed that the air cannot penetrate: it would be advisable to make those apart-

ments of wood, for the more perfect exclusion of moisture. The floor should be elevated two feet. Under the floor a pan of coals is placed covered with a funnel, the point of which enters into the heap of cacao, and there diffuses the vapour. In the apartment which contains the cacao, some persons place bottles of vinegar, slightly stopped with paper, to prevent the formation of worms.

The cacao which begins to show specks, may be preserved from entire corruption by a slight application of brine. This occasions a small degree of fermentation, which is sufficient to destroy the worms, and to preserve the cacao during a considerable time from new attacks. Why is not this preservative also employed after the cacao is dried, and when placed in the store, where it awaits the purchaser?

At San Philip they make use of smoke to preserve the cacao; it is also ascertained that fine salt, thrown in small quantities on the cacao, protects it from worms.

Much has been done for the cacao when it has been cleared of all green or dead grains, and of all extraneous articles; when it has received no bruise or injury in the operation of drying; and when it has been subsequently kept in a place that is dry and not exposed to the air: yet, even with all these precautions, cacao of the best quality is seldom found marketable at the end of a year.

These circumstances sufficiently prove, that the culture of cacao requires attention more than

science, vigilance rather than genius; and assiduity in preference to theory. Choice of ground, distribution and draining of the waters, positions of the trees destined to shade the cacao, are almost the only points which require more than common intelligence. Less expense is also required for an establishment of this kind, than for any other of equal revenue. One labourer is sufficient for the preservation and harvest of a thousand plants, each of which should yield at least one pound of cacao in ground of moderate quality, and a pound and a half in the best soil. By an averaged calculation, of twenty ounces to each plant, the thousand plants must produce twelve hundred and fifty pounds, which, at the customary price of twenty dollars per hundred, produce two hundred and fifty dollars per annum for each labourer. The expenses of the plantations, including those of utensils, machines, and buildings, are also less considerable for cacao than for any other produce. The delay of the first crop, and the accidents peculiar to cacao, can alone diminish the number of planters attached to its culture, and induce a preference to other commodities.

The cacao plant is not in a state of perfect produce till the eighth year in the interior, and the ninth in plantations on the coast. Yet, by a singularity which situation alone can explain, the crops of cacao commence in the sixth year in the valley of Goapa, and at the east of the mouth of

the Tuy. In the vicinity of the line, and on the banks of Rio Negro, the plantations are in full produce in the fourth, or at most the fifth year.

The cacao tree continues productive to the age of fifty years on the coast, and thirty years in the interior country.

In general the culture and preparation of cacao receive more attention in the eastern part of Tierra Firme than in other places, and even in the French colonies. It is true that the excellence of soil contributes much to the quality of the article, but, without the assistance derived from art, it would be far from possessing that superiority awarded to it by commerce over the cacao of every other country.

The province of Caracas,* says Humboldt, at the end of the eighteenth century, produced annually a hundred and fifty thousand fanegas, of which a hundred thousand were consumed in Spain, and thirty thousand in the province. Estimating a fanega of cacao at only twenty-five piastres for the price given at Cadiz, we find, that the total value of the exportation of cacao, by the six ports of the former Capitania-General of Caracas,† amounts to four million eight hundred

* The province, not the former Capitania-General, consequently excluding the cacao plantations of Cumana, of the province of Barcelona, of Maracaibo, of Varinas, and of Spanish Guayana.

† St Thomas in New Guayana, or Angostura, Cumana, Nueva Barcelona, La Guayra, Porto Cabello, and Maracaibo.

thousand piastres. So important an object of commerce merits a careful discussion; and I flatter myself, that, from the great number of materials I have collected on all the branches of colonial agriculture, I shall be able to add something to the information published by M. Depons, in his valuable work on the provinces of Venezuela.

The tree that produces the cacao is not at present found wild in the forests of Tierra Firme, to the north of the Orinoco: we began to find it only beyond the cataracts of Atures and Maypures. It abounds particularly near the banks of the Ventuari, and on the Upper Orinoco, between the Padamo and the Gehette. This scarcity of wild cacao trees in South America, north of the latitude of 6°, is a very curious phenomenon of botanical geography, and yet little known. This phenomenon appears so much the more surprising, as, according to the annual produce of the harvest, the number of trees in full bearing in the cacao plantations of Caracas, Nueva Barcelona, Venezuela, Varinas, and Maracaibo, is estimated at more than sixteen millions. The wild cacao tree has many branches, and is covered with a tufted and dark foliage. It bears a very small fruit, like that variety which the ancient Mexicans called *tlalcacahuatl*. Transplanted into the conucos of the Indians of Cassiquiare and the Rio Negro, the wild tree preserves for several generations that force of vegetable life

which makes it bear fruit in the fourth year; while in the province of Caracas, the harvest begins only the sixth, seventh, or eighth year: They are later in the inland parts than on the coasts and in the valley of Guapo. We met with no tribe on the Orinoco that prepared a beverage with the seeds of the cacao tree. The savages suck the pulp of the pod, and throw away the seeds, which are often found in heaps where they have passed the night. Though the chorote, which is a very weak infusion of cacao, is considered on the coast to be a very ancient beverage, no historical fact proves, that chocolate, or any preparation whatever of cacao, was known to the natives of Venezuela before the arrival of the Spaniards. It appears to me more probable, that the cacao plantations of Caracas were made in imitation of those of Mexico and Guatimala; and that the Spaniards inhabiting Tierra Firme learned the cultivation of the cacao tree, sheltered in its youth by the foliage of the erythina and plantain, the fabrication of cakes of chocolate, and the use of the liquid of the same name, by their communications with Mexico, Guatimala, and Nicaragua, three countries, the inhabitants of which were of Tolteck and Azteck origin.*

* Father Gili has very clearly shown, from two passages in Torquemado, (Monarquia Indiana, lib. xiv. cap. 14. et 42.), that the Mexicans prepared the infusion cold; and that the Spaniards have introduced the custom of preparing chocolate by boiling water with the paste of cacao.

"He who has drunk one cup," says the page of Ferdinand Cortez, "can travel a whole day without any other food, especially in very hot climates; for chocolate is by its nature cold and refreshing." We shall not subscribe to the latter part of this assertion; but we shall soon have occasion, in our voyage on the Orinoco, and our excursions toward the summit of the Cordilleras, to celebrate the salutary properties of chocolate. Alike easy to convey and employ as an aliment, it contains a large quantity of nutritive and stimulating particles in a small compass. It has been said with truth, that, in Africa, rice, gum, and shea butter, assist man in crossing the deserts. In the New World, chocolate and the flower of maize have rendered accessible to him the table-lands of the Andes, and vast uninhabited forests.

The cacao harvest is extremely variable. The tree vegetates with such strength, that flowers spring out even from the ligneous roots, wherever the earth leaves them uncovered. It suffers from the north-east winds, even when these winds lower the temperature only a few degrees. The heavy showers that fall irregularly after the rainy season during the winter months, from December to March, are also very hurtful to the cacao tree. The proprietor of a plantation of fifty thousand trees often loses the value of more than four or five thousand piastres in cacao in one hour. Great humidity is favourable to the tree

only when it augments progressively, and is for a long time uninterrupted. If, in the season of drought, the leaves and the young fruit be wetted by a violent shower, the fruit falls from the stem. It appears that the vessels, which absorb water, break from being rendered turgid. But if the cacao harvest be one of the most uncertain, on account of the fatal effects of intemperate seasons, and the great number of worms, insects, birds, and quadrupeds, that devour the pod of the cacao tree; if this branch of agriculture have the disadvantage of obliging the new planter to wait eight or ten years for the fruit of his labours, and of yielding an article of very difficult preservation;* we must not forget, that the cacao plantations require a much less number of labourers than most others. This consideration is of high importance, at a time when all the nations of Europe have nobly resolved to put an end to the slave trade. One Negro is sufficient for a thousand trees, which may yield on an average annually twelve fanegas of cacao. It is true, that in the island of Cuba, one large sugar plantation, with three hundred blacks, yields, one year with another, forty thousand arrobas of sugar, the value of which, at forty piastres the cask,† amounts to one hundred thousand piastres; and

* The cacao of Guayaquil keeps better than that of Caracas..

† A cask (caxa) weighs from fifteen and a half to sixteen arrobas, each arroba = 25 pounds Spanish.

that, in the province of Venezuela, cacao to the value of a hundred thousand piastres, or four thousand fanegas, when the fanega is at twenty-five piastres only, requires three hundred, or three hundred and thirty Negroes. The two hundred thousand casks of sugar, or three million two hundred thousand arrobas,* which the island of Cuba has annually exported from 1812 to 1814, amount to eight millions of piastres, and might be fabricated with twenty-four thousand Negroes, if the island had only very large plantations; but this supposition is not conformable to the state of the colony, and the nature of things. In 1811 the island of Cuba employed one hundred and forty-three thousand Negroes in the fields alone; while the Capitania-General of Caracas, which produces, but does not export, two hundred thousand fanegas of cacao a-year, or to the value of five millions of piastres, has, both in the towns and in the fields, only sixty thousand Negroes. It is almost superfluous to add, that these results vary with the prices of sugar and cacao.

The finest plantations of cacao are found in the province of Caracas along the coast, between Caravalleda and the mouth of the river Tucuyo,† in the valleys of Caucagua, Capaya, Curiepe, and Guapo; and in those of Cupira, between Cape

* The haciendas of Choroni, Ocumare, Chuao, Turiamo, Guaiguaza.

† The two provinces of Caracas and of Nueva Barcelona are disputing this very fertile tract of ground.

Codera and Cape Unare, near Arora, Barquisimeto, Guigue, and Uritucu. The cacao that grows on the banks of the Uritucu, at the entrance of the Llanos, in the jurisdiction of San Sebastian de las Reyes, is considered as of the first quality.. Next to the cacao of Uritucu comes that of Guigue, of Caucagua, of Capaya, and of Cupira. The merchants of Cadiz assign the first rank to the cacao of Caracas, immediately after that of Soconusco; and its price is generally from thirty to forty per cent higher than that of Guayaquil.

It is only since the middle of the seventeenth century, that the Dutch, tranquil possessors of the island of Curaçoa, awakened by their smuggling the agricultural industry of the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts, and that cacao has become an object of exportation in the province of Caracas. We are ignorant of every thing that passed in those countries before the establishment of the Biscay Company of Guipuzcoa in 1728. No precise statistical fact has reached us; we only know, that the exportation of cacao from Caracas scarcely amounted, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, to thirty thousand fanegas a-year. From 1730 to 1748, the Company sent to Spain eight hundred and fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight fanegas, which make on an average forty-seven thousand seven hundred fanegas a-year: the price of the fanega fell in 1732 to forty-five piastres, when it

had before kept at eighty piastres! In 1763 the cultivation had so much augmented, that the exportation rose to eighty thousand six hundred and fifty-nine fanegas.* According to the registers of the custom-house at La Guayra, the exports, without counting the produce of illicit trade, were

In 1789 of 103,655 fanegas,
1792 — 100,592
1794 — 111,133
1796 — 75,538
1797 — 70,832

In an official document, taken from the papers of the minister of finance,† the annual produce (la cosecha) of the province of Caracas is estimated at a hundred and thirty-five thousand fanegas of cacao; thirty-three thousand of which are for home consumption; ten thousand for other Spanish colonies; seventy-seven thousand for the mother-country; fifteen thousand for the illicit commerce with the French, English, Dutch, and Danish colonies. From 1789 to 1793, the importation of cacao from Caracas into Spain has been, on an average, seventy-seven thousand

* Of these 80,659 fanegas, 50,319 were sent directly to Spain, 16,364 to La Vera Cruz, 11,160 to the Canaries, and 2,316 to the West India Islands.

† Report (MS) of the Count of Casa Valencia, counsellor in the department of the Indies, to Don Pedro Varela, minister of Real Hacienda, on the commerce of Caracas, the 13th June 1797, fol. 46.

seven hundred and nineteen fanegas a-year, of which sixty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six have been consumed in the country, and eleven thousand nine hundred and fifty-three exported to France, Italy, and Germany.† According to numerous informations, which were collected on the spot, these estimations are still somewhat too low. The books of the custom-house of La Guayra alone give, on a mean, in time of peace, an exportation of eighty thousand

† According to the registers of the ports of Spain, the importation of cacao from Caracas into the peninsula was,

In 1789	78,406 fanegas	88 lbs.	
1790	74,089	3	
1791	71,500	43	
1792	87,656	34	
1793	76,983	4	

Annual average, 77,719 fanegas.

Of these 77,719 fanegas, 60,202 were consumed in the provinces of Spain not privileged (provincias contribuyentes), and 5,564 in the privileged provinces (provincias exemptas), as Navarra, Biscay, &c. The exportation from Spain was,

In 1789	13,718 fanegas	98 lbs.
1790	6,421	80
1791	21,446	17
1792	17,452	48
1793	728	23

Annual average, 11,953 fanegas.

As in the complicated system of the Spanish custom-houses, the cacao of Caracas is subject to a very different duty, according as it is consumed in the peninsula, or exported out of the kingdom (in the first case, fifty-two and a half per cent, and in the second, twenty-nine and a half), a great quantity of cacao is reimported into Spain.

or a hundred thousand fanegas a-year. We may safely augment this sum a fourth or fifth, on account of the illicit trade with Trinidad and the other West India Islands. It appears probable, that from 1800 to 1806, the last period of internal tranquillity in the Spanish colonies, the annual produce of the cacao plantations of the Capitania-General of Caracas was at least a hundred and ninety-three thousand fanegas; of which we may allot to the province of Caracas - 150,000

of Maracaibo - -	20,000
of Cumana - -	18,000
of Nueva Barcelona	5,000

The crops that are gathered twice a-year, at the end of June and of December, vary much; yet less than those of the olive and vine in Europe. Of the hundred and ninety-three thousand fanegas of cacao which the Capitania-General of Caracas produces, a hundred and forty-five thousand pass over to Europe, either by the ports of the peninsula, or by contraband trade.

These estimations* are the result of a great number of local statements, that Europe consumes, in its present state of civilization,—

* The English West India Islands exported of sugar to different parts of the world, in 1812, more than 233,000 hogsheads, at 14 cwt. or 326,000,000 pounds; of which Jamaica alone, with 350,000 Negroes, furnished 189,000,000 pounds. The produce of Cuba and that of San Domingo together, have been estimated at 120,000,000 pounds of sugar. When we state the annual consumption of cacao in Europe at 23,000,000, and that of sugar at 450,000,000 pounds, we think we give the

	Francs.*
23 millions of pounds of cacao, at 120 fr. the hundred weight,	27,600,000
32 millions of pounds of tea, at 4 fr. a-pound, - -	128,000,000
140 millions of pounds of coffee, at 114 fr. the hundred weight,	159,600,000
450 millions of pounds of sugar, at 54 fr. the hundred weight, -	243,000,000
Total value,*	558,200,000

The first of these four productions, which have become within two or three centuries the princi-

real numbers, exact to one-fifth. This degree of precision may be attained, by estimating with care the exportation of those countries that furnish the greatest quantity of cacao and sugar for the European trade; for instance, with respect to cacao, the exportation of the ports of Tierra Firme, Guayaquil, and Guatimala; and for sugar, that of the English, Spanish, and French West India Islands. We shall remark, on this occasion, that the consumption of sugar is stated, in the statistical tables of France, to amount, in 1800, to 54,000,000; in 1817 it was 56,400,000 pounds.

* In 1818 the price of cacao at London was, for the cacao of Caracas, from L.6 to L.6. 10s.; for cacao of inferior quality, from L.4. 10s. to L.3. 10s. the hundred weight; coffee was, at a mean, 95s. the hundred weight; sugar, from 40s. to 50s. The price of these last two articles has considerably risen since the publication of Mr Colquhoun's work. It is difficult to fix a general statement for the price of tea, on account of the great difference between the various qualities. In 1817, the importation of sugar from the East Indies into the port of London was only 50,000 bags, or 5,500,000 pounds. In order to form a more precise idea of the importance of European com-

pal objects of commerce and colonial industry, belongs exclusively to America; the second to Asia exclusively, for the exportation of cacao from the Philippine Isles is yet of as little importance as the attempts which have been made to cultivate tea in Brazil, the island of Trinidad, and Jamaica. The provinces of Caracas furnish nearly two-thirds of all the cacao that is consumed in the western and southern parts of Europe. This result is the more remarkable, as being contrary to what is generally believed: but the cacao of Caracas, Maracaibo, and Cumana, is not all of the same quality. We have just seen, that the Count of Casa Valencia estimates the consumption of Spain at only six or seven millions of pounds; the Abbé Hervas fixes it at nine millions. Every person who has long inhabited Spain, Italy, and France, must have observed, that the use of chocolate is frequent only in the first of these countries among the poorer class of people; and therefore will scarcely believe, that Spain consumes but a third of the cacao imported into Europe.

The late wars have had much more fatal effects on the cacao trade of Caracas, than on that of Guayaquil. On account of the increase of price, less cacao of the first quality has been consumed

merce in sugar, coffee, tea, and cacao, we shall here call to mind, that the value of all the importations of England amounts, from 1805 to 1810, on an average, to 1200 millions of francs yearly.

in Europe. Instead of mixing, as was done formerly for common chocolate, one quarter of the cacao of Caracas with three quarters of that of Guayaquil, the latter has been employed pure in Spain. We must here remark, that a great deal of cacao of an inferior quality, such as that of Marañon, the Rio Negro, Honduras, and the island of Santa Lucia, bears the name, in commerce, of Guayaquil cacao. The exportation from that port amounts only to 60,000 fanegas; consequently it is two-thirds less than that of the ports of the former Capitania-General of Caracas.

Though the plantations of cacao have augmented in the provinces of Cumana, Barcelona, and Maracaibo, in proportion as they have diminished in the province of Caracas, it is still believed that, in general, this ancient branch of agricultural industry gradually declines. Coffee and cotton trees progressively take place on many spots of the cacao, of which the lingering harvests weary the patience of the cultivator. It is also asserted, that the new plantations of cacao are less productive than the old; the trees do not acquire the same vigour, and yield later and less abundant fruit. The soil is still accused of being exhausted; but we think it is rather the atmosphere that is changed by the progress of clearing and cultivation. The air that reposes on a virgin soil covered with forests, is loaded with humidity, and those gaseous mixtures that serve for the nutriment of plants, and arise from the de-

composition of organic substances. When a country has been long subjected to cultivation, it is not the proportions between the azote and oxygen that vary. The constituent bases of the atmosphere remain unaltered; but it no longer contains, in a state of suspension, those binary and ternary mixtures of carbon, azote, and hydrogen, which a virgin soil exhales, and which are regarded as a source of fecundity. The air, purer and less charged with miasmata and heterogeneous emanations, becomes at the same time drier. The elasticity of the vapours undergoes a sensible diminution. On land anciently cleared, and consequently little favourable to the cultivation of the cacao tree, for instance in the West India Islands, the fruit is almost as small as that of the wild cacao tree. It is, as we have already observed, on the banks of the Upper Orinoco, after having crossed the Llanos, that we find the true country of the cacao tree; thick forests, in which, on a virgin soil, and surrounded by an atmosphere continually humid, the trees furnish from the fourth year abundant crops. Wherever the soil is not exhausted, the fruit is become by cultivation larger and less bitter, but also more late.

On seeing the produce of cacao diminish gradually in Tierra Firme, it may be inquired, whether the consumption will diminish in the same proportion in Spain, Italy, and the rest of Europe; or whether it be not probable, that, by the destruction of the cacao plantations, the price will

augment sufficiently to arouse anew the industry of the cultivator? This latter opinion is generally admitted by those who deplore, at Caracas, the diminution of so ancient and beneficial a branch of commerce. In proportion as civilization extends toward the humid forests of the interior, the banks of the Orinoco and the Amazon, or toward the valleys that furrow the eastern declivity of the Andes, the new planters will find lands and an atmosphere equally favourable to the culture of the cacao tree.

It is known, that the Spaniards in general dread the mixture of vanilla with the cacao, as irritating the nervous system; the fruit, therefore, of that orchideous plant is entirely neglected in the province of Caracas, though abundant crops of it might be gathered on the humid and feverous coast between Porto Cavello and Ocumare; especially at Turiamo, where the fruits of the epidendrum vanilla attain a length of eleven or twelve inches. The English and the Anglo-Americans often seek to make purchases of vanilla at the port of La Guayra, but the merchants procure with difficulty a very small quantity. In the valleys that descend from the chain of the coast toward the Caribbean Sea, in the province of Truxillo, as well as in the Missions of Guayana near the Cataracts of the Orinoco, a great quantity of vanilla might be collected; the produce of which would be still more abundant, if, according to the practice of the Mexicans, the plant were

disentangled from time to time from the creeping plants by which it is entwined and stifled.

SECTION VI.

TOBACCO.

THE culture of this plant, which the soil principally favoured, and which might be prosecuted on a large or small scale, and without costly utensils or expensive machines, was adapted, in every respect, to a people scattered, who had no other means of existing except by labour and perseverance. The culture and preparation of tobacco does not require fatiguing labour, but great care: the least negligence in the weeding and other proceedings, which will be detailed, occasions the loss of the crop.

NURSERIES.—Tobacco requires a fat and humid soil. Uritucu has sand mingled with the mould, and produces the best tobacco. It would reproduce itself from its seed; but they establish nurseries, which demand a rich soil where the water does not settle and stagnate; for the seeds would rot instead of sprouting.

The time chosen for sowing is from the month of August until in November. The first care is to prevent, by good enclosures, animals from entering the nurseries. After having finished sow-

ing, they water the earth, and this operation repeated as often as the want of rain renders necessary. The cotyledons appear on the eigl day; and the young plants are covered with lar leaves of heliconia or plantain, to shelter them fr the direct action of the sun. The weeds whi spring up at the same time with the tobacco a very injurious to it; they are pulled up by t hand, taking care not to affect the young pla It is often necessary to sow the land a seco time; but they are always obliged to scatter n seeds in the parts where the plant has made appearance. It is very rare that the first sowi does not leave large spaces unproductive. the end of forty or fifty days the tobacco is to transplanted.

Planting.—In the mean time the land dest ed to be planted is prepared. It is broken in sufficient degree, that the rains may easily d solve the salts, provoke fermentation, and ma the tobacco shoot forth handsome sprigs and lo roots. When the moment of planting is arrive the young plant is taken up with all possible ca tion, particularly guarding it in its transportati against the ardour of the sun, and against bei bruised. If the weather is dry, it is advisable water the nursery the evening before, that t young plants may be more cool and fresh wh taken up, and more disposed for the new gern nation.

The tobacco is planted in lines three feet an a half distant from each other. The holes a

made at two feet distant in high ground, and at one and a half in the plains. They should be made two days before the planting; because, in this interval, all injurious particles have time to exhale, and the rain deposits the moisture necessary to fertilization.

The plant should be placed in the hole with great precaution. Care should be taken, not only against damaging its tender roots, but also that the soil which clings to them should be detached in taking up. All hard clods of earth which might injure the young plant are removed, and the hole is closed up in such a manner as to prevent the water from settling there. Without this attention, the tobacco plant would perish.

It is advisable to cover the plant with a banana leaf, or something similar: by this means the tobacco is protected from the heat of the sun, and from the heavy rains, which would not prove less prejudicial. Four days afterwards it is uncovered, to replace such plants as through the fault of the planter, or any other cause, may not have taken root. The planting may take place at any time of day, provided the weather be overcast, otherwise it should only be done in the morning or evening.

Weeding.—After all these precautions, the plantation must be weeded as often as the quantity of weeds renders it necessary. Nothing tends more to the thriving of the tobacco than to keep it clean and unembarrassed. As soon as the

young plant has acquired a certain size and substance, it seeks to free itself from its first leaves, which themselves announce, by their withering, that they are injurious to the plant. Nature demands in this case to be assisted by the hand of the cultivator.

VERMIN.—From its most tender age the tobacco is attacked by several species of worms. It would inevitably perish, if man did not defend it against its destroyers. As each of these worms makes its ravages in a different manner, the first measure to prevent them is to study well their characters and movements.

The drooping of the plant intimates, that it is attacked by the worms called *canne.* They lodge themselves on the summit of the stem, and are found on opening the leaves thereof. All that part of the stem damaged by the worms, is cut away close to the healthy part. It then puts forth a new bud, which, with care, forms a passable tobacco plant.

The *rosca* worm makes its attacks only in the night. In the day it hides itself in the ground. A bed of prickles placed about the tobacco plant, is the best trap that can be set for them.

There is an insect which the people of the country say injures the tobacco by a kind of corrosive transpiration, which it deposits on the plant. The tobacco is seen to decay insensibly, and does not revive until relieved from its enemy.

There is a species of butterfly, called by the Creoles *palometa,* which makes great havock in

he tobacco. It escapes with activity during the ıeat of the day, but the dampness of the morning ›enumbs it, and it is easily killed.

The grub is almost imperceptible: it perforates he bud, and destroys the plant.

A species of scarab, called in the country *ara-lor*, enters the ground, and feeds on the roots of the tobacco, which it occasions speedily to perish.

But there is no insect from which the tobacco has so much to apprehend as the horned worm. It requires but one night to devour a leaf of tabacco, whatever may be its size.

The catalogue of worms destructive to tobacco might be considerably augmented; but we have mentioned sufficient to give an idea of the vigilance which this plant exacts from the cultivator.

INCREASE.—The plant soon springs up and forms on the summit a bud, towards which the sap would direct itself if a remedy was not applied. The mean employed with success is to cut off the bud. The plant is then one foot and a half in height. This operation is repeated when it has attained three feet. There are some who repeat it three times, but this is rare. At the same time they cut all the sprouts, and all the branches which draw off the nutritive substance of the leaves. Experience has proved, that the branches or sprouts which shoot from the stem render the tobacco bitter, and retard its harvest.

MATURITY.—In consequence of these operations, the tobacco becomes bushy, and acquires

by degrees a colour between blue and green, as sign of the approach of its maturity. It is known to be ripe by a small bluish spot which forms itself at the point where the leaf joins to the stem; this commonly takes place in December.

All the leaves do not ripen at the same time, because the sap is not equally distributed throughout the plant. Those leaves only are gathered of which the colour indicates their maturity. The others have not yet the essential juice, and would only yield tobacco without flavour. The gathering is continued and repeated as the leaves ripen.

GATHERING.—It is highly important to the quality of tobacco, that it should not be gathered except when the sun is in full force above the horizon; for the dews or any other humidity would by fermentation injure its constituent principles, and would render ineffective the benefits which it had already received from nature, and those which it might expect from a methodical preparation.

As the ripe leaves are gathered they are placed in heaps from twenty to twenty-five, between the ranges of the plants. The labourers collect them, arrange them on mats, cover them to protect them from the sun, and in this manner transport them to the manufactory.

The Creoles of Tierra Firme give their tobacco two kinds of preparation; one they term *cura seca*, or the dry preparation; the other, *cura negra*, or

black preparation. The only difference consists in the degree of fermentation given to the tobacco submitted to the process of the black preparation. Its object is to obtain therefrom a juice highly esteemed in the country. This operation blackens the tobacco. It is this which gives the name of black to this mode of curing.

Dry Preparation.—As soon as the tobacco arrives from the fields at the houses assigned for its preparation, it is divided into small parcels, which are placed in the shade until the next day.

At the end of twenty-four hours, they hang under sheds, and on bars, the leaves of tobacco two and two if in winter, or four and four if in summer. This is done to make the tobacco lose, by the action of the air, its tension and green colour, to acquire instead a yellowness and softness which render it more flexible. In rainy weather it must remain three days in this situation, and sometimes four; but if the weather is dry, two days are sufficient.

As soon as the tobacco has obtained the due colour and softness, it is taken down without being piled up, lest it should ferment. They then take out the stalk, from the point until within four inches of the part where the leaf was united to the stem. This is done with the fingers, and with the caution necessary to prevent the leaf from being damaged. The leaves which have undergone this process are laid on one side, and the damaged tobacco and the stalks on the

other, without putting them in heaps, because there is still danger of their heating or fermenting.

At the same time they make cords or twists of these leaves, which they divide into balls of seventy-five pounds, which, after the process of preparation, diminish into twenty-five pounds. All this requires great celerity, because the leaves may dry, and consequently it would be more difficult to take out the stalk, and to twist them. Thus, therefore, if the operation is retarded or delayed, it will be fortunate if the tobacco turns out even of the second quality.

The interior of the cord is made, like segars, of broken or damaged leaves, which are covered with a good leaf. As soon as the ball is of the proper size, it is made anew, so that the outward end becomes the centre of the new ball. This is done to prevent it from untwisting.

The balls of tobacco are then placed on beds or layers of a foot thick, formed of the branches or stalks, covered with the damaged tobacco. A covering of the branches is likewise spread over the balls, and kept down by weights or skins. All this should be done in the shade, and under sheds; for it is necessary to guard against the sun and the rain.

The tobacco is suffered to ferment for forty-eight hours, if it was too dry when the large stalk was taken out; but only twenty hours if it was at its proper point. It is afterwards rolled

anew, so that what was on the exterior becomes the centre; and at the same time it is highly moistened to prevent fermentation. The balls are then returned to their former place to ferment; and in this state they are left for twenty-four hours, if, the first time, they were suffered to ferment forty-eight, and *vice versa.*

When it is judged that the balls of tobacco have sufficiently fermented, they are exposed to the air until they become cold: they are wound over morning and evening for three or four days. By this process, more or less repeated, the visible defects of the tobacco are corrected. It is entirely exempt from them if its colour is blackish, its juice viscid, and its smell agreeable.

Lastly, the balls are unrolled, and the tobacco put in manoques, which are suspended in the shade and separated, that the tobacco may lose its superfluous humidity, and acquire that colour which influences its value in commerce. If the weather be too damp, it is necessary to light a fire beneath the suspended tobacco, or to place there such materials as will yield a thick smoke.

It is difficult to assign the exact period of time which the tobacco should remain in this state. That depends on the temperature, on the greater or less proportion of fat particles which it contains, and on the nature of the precautions observed in its preparation. It is known by opening the cord and squeezing it. If the juice run freely, the tobacco is not sufficiently dry, but it generally dries in forty or fifty days.

In some manufactories they put the tobacco at first in manoques, and suspend them in the air.—When they judge that it is sufficiently dry, they bring the manoques together, so that by the contact, which endures for several hours, the juice of the plant concentrates. All superfluous humidity being dissipated, they profit of such time of the morning, or of a cloudy day, when the cord is most flexible, to tie the manoque to four points at equal distances. This is done with strips of the bark of the banana, so as not to break the tobacco. They then place the manoques in heaps which they arrange on a bed of dry banana leaves of the height of nearly two feet. They cover the heap with the same banana leaves, on which they place weights, which press down the mass.

At the end of eight days they uncover it to inspect the state of the fermentation; if it is too considerable, they suspend the manoques anew in a place sheltered, but airy, where they remain until the fault of excessive fermentation is visibly corrected. If the fermentation is at the point desired, they form a new heap in an inverted order, and with the same precautions. Fifteen days afterwards they examine the fermentation to invert the heap once more; it remains in this new state fifteen days, as in the preceding instances.

The humidity of the atmosphere occasions sometimes an interruption to the order of these operations, or requires that much greater atten-

tion should be shewn to the process of the fermentation, in order to preserve the tobacco from corruption. Each time that the heap is made over, care should be had that the cord does not slacken, nor the manoques open.

All the operation being finished, the heap is made anew for the last time. The manoques are detached, the cords of tobacco extended at full length in a magazine slightly watered, the ground of which is covered with fresh banana leaves, which are likewise sprinkled, or which have been rendered humid by the dew. The first layer of tobacco being made, it is covered with similar leaves, and new layers are successively formed, until the whole of the tobacco is thus heaped up. Then a strong layer of banana leaves is spread above, which is kept down by weights, and sometimes a little water is added, if there is any apprehension that the tobacco is too dry.

It remains in this situation four days. The manufacturer then untwists the cord, and ascertains the quality of the tobacco. He separates the pieces of an inferior quality, and makes them into balls of twenty-five pounds. The tobacco of the first quality receives the same form; and both the one and the other are placed in magazines.

Black Preparation.—All the measures which we have just mentioned have for their object merely the preparation of tobacco *cura seca*. Those which are employed for the *cura negra*

differ in some few particulars. The first fermen-tation of the tobacco, when in balls, is made i the sun, under a layer of green herbage, whic is charged with weights, to augment the com pression. After three days the covering is r moved, and a thick vapour is emitted. Th balls are returned after being wound over, an they undergo a second, third, and fourth fermen tation, until the colour of the tobacco evinc that it should be placed in the shade. When th is done, the balls are made anew, and a weight placed on each of them, which presses therefro a liquor, which is received in appropriate vessel The balls are once more wound outside in, ar submitted to the same process, and they emit tl same liquid, known in the country by the nan of *moo* and *chimoo*.

The rest of the preparation of this tobacco nearly the same as that of the dry tobacco, whi has already been described.

The liquid which is expressed from the tobac is not suffered to remain in that state. It boiled to the consistence of a syrup. It become by this means, an object of great consumpti among the planters of the interior of Tierra Firm principally in the province of Varinas. The w men have a small box, which they wear like watch, suspended to one side at the end of string. Instead of a key, it is furnished with little spoon, with which they help themselves fro time to time of this juice, relishing it in the

mouths like a sweetmeat. This corresponds to the chewing of tobacco among our sailors.

Next to the tobacco of the Isle of Cuba, and of the Rio Negro, that of Cumana is the most aromatic. It excels all the tobacco of New Spain, and of the province of Varinas. The prodigious expansion which is remarked in the solaneous plants of the valley of Cumanacoa, especially in the abundant species of the solanum arborescens, of aquartia, and of cestrum, seems to indicate how favourable this spot is for plantations of tobacco. Indeed the soil of Cumanacoa is so proper for this branch of culture, that tobacco grows wild wherever the seed finds any moisture. It grows thus spontaneously at Cerro del Cuchivano, and around the cavern of Caripe. Besides, the only kind of tobacco cultivated at Cumanacoa, as well as in the neighbouring districts of Aricagua and San Lorenzo, is the tobacco with large sestile leaves,* called Virginia tobacco. The tobacco with petiolate leaves,† which is the *yetl* of the ancient Mexicans, is unknown, though it is designated in Germany under the singular name of Turkish tobacco.

If the culture of tobacco were free, the province of Cumana might furnish a great part of Europe. It even appears, that other districts would not be less favourable to this branch of colonial industry than the valley of Cumanacoa,

* Nicotiana tabacum. † Nicotiana rustica.

in which the too great frequency of rains often injures the aromatic property of the leaves. The growth being now confined to the space of a few square leagues, the whole produce of the harvest is only 6000 arrobas.* Nevertheless the two provinces of Cumana and Barcelona consume 12,000. What is wanting is furnished by Spanish Guayana. There are in general only fifteen hundred persons employed in the tobacco harvest in the neighbourhood of Cumanacoa, and these are all whites. The hope of gain seldom stimulates the natives of the Chayma race to engage in this culture, and the administration does not deem it prudent to furnish them with advances.

In studying the history of our cultivated plants, we are surprised to see, that before the conquest the use of tobacco was spread through the greater part of America, while the potato was unknown both in Mexico and the West India Islands, where it grows well in the mountainous regions. Tobacco has also been cultivated in Portugal since the year 1559, though the potato did not become an object of European agriculture till the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. This latter plant, which has had such a powerful influence on the well-being of society, has spread in both continents with more slowness than a production which can be considered only as a simple article of luxury.

* The harvest of 1798 was 3800 arrobas; that of 1799 amounted to 6100.

SECTION VII.

COTTON.

INDIGO had scarcely obtained a distinguished rank among the commercial productions of Tierra Firme, when the same honour was sought for cotton; which till that time was ranked among a thousand local productions applicable to domestic uses, but unworthy to figure in commerce by the side of cacao. A hundred plants formed about the proportion of the largest plantation. In 1782 some planters effected that for cotton which others had unsuccessfully attempted for indigo. The valleys of Aragua, Valencia, Araure, Barquisimeto, Varinas, Cumana, and successively several other places in the province of Caracas, assigned a part of their territory to the cultivation of this plant.

SOIL.—There is perhaps no plant less delicate respecting the nature of soil. It grows on almost all lands; and if any preference be shewn, it is in favour of those grounds which other vegetables reject. It only requires particularly to be protected from the north winds, which are destructive to it, by reason of the drizzling rains which accompany or follow them. Heavy rains are equally injurious. The same degree of humidity which gives vigour to the vegetation of coffee, cacao, and the sugar-cane, occasions the cotton plant to perish.

The parish of Trou, situate in the northern part of San Domingo, experienced five years of extraordinary drought, which commenced in 1772. The plains covered with sugar-canes, and the hills cultivated with coffee, were afflicted with a desolating sterility. M. Chevalier, an inhabitant of that quarter, took occasion in 1776 to sow his grounds with cotton, and gathered prodigious crops. All the sufferers by that calamity imitated his example, when in 1777, the rains having resumed their ordinary course, destroyed all the cotton plants, and restored to the soil its former productions.

The cotton tree requires, therefore, land which, by its position and natural productions, repels clouds rather than attracts them, and which is not exposed to the north. The coast from Cape de la Vela to Cape Paria is, from its bearing, improper for the culture of cotton; of course we find there no establishments of this kind.

PLANTATION.—The only preparation that the soil destined for cotton requires is the removal of trees, shrubs, and other plants. When the ground is well cleared, they proceed to the planting of cotton. The season most proper for the colonies of the Gulf of Mexico is during the four months of June, July, August, and September. In the dependencies of Caracas they only plant in May and June, because, as the cotton plants blossom always in the month of November, those which had been planted in July and August would be surprised

by the blossoming season, before they had reached their natural growth, and had acquired the consistence necessary to perfect fructification.

They in general plant cotton trees, in the French colonies, in a quincunx form. This mode requires more time and skill, but has advantages which entitle it to a preference. In Tierra Firme they plant on straight lines drawn with a cord, and separated by a space of seven or eight feet. The holes to receive the seed are four feet distant from each other, and in each five or six grains are thrown. When half the number rise, the plantation is fortunate. In fifteen days the young plant begins to shoot: at this period a light rain assists it; but it does not make very evident progress during the first five or six weeks. It is then weeded, that no other plant may share with it the nutritive juices of the earth, and only two or three of the strongest stalks are left in each cluster.

Treatment.—In the Antilles, no weeding succeeds the first till the fourth month; and then the plant is pruned, by cutting the length of an inch or more from the stalk as well as the branches. It is seldom necessary to repeat this operation, as the cotton tree stops at the height of five feet, and the sap does not diffuse itself into useless or superfluous branches. But in Tierra Firme the richness of the soil, or rather the activity of its principles of vegetation, require that the pruning should commence in the first month, and should

be repeated every month at the decline of the moon, till the blossoming season. The first pruning should be made with cutting, and only with the finger and thumb, that the tree, which is yet tender, may not be injured. After the first time a knife is always employed to check the growth of the tree to the height of six feet. The weeding should also be repeated every month, until the cotton tree has attained sufficient size to cover the soil with its branches, and by its shade prevent any herb from growing.

From the fifth to the sixth month, the plant furnishes abundance of flowers, to which succeed the husks or pods containing the seeds, enveloped in a down which is called cotton.

Harvest.—After the seventh month the cotton bursts the pod, and if not gathered in time, it falls to the ground and is spoiled. Violent winds and heavy rains which happen during the cotton harvest, occasion considerable losses to the planter. It is not merely at this epoch that the cotton plant experiences many risks. Its seed, softened by the development of the germe, is devoured by worms, wood-lice, and scarabs. In the first month of its existence it is attacked by crickets, who effect their ravages in the night. Its leaves while tender are the pastures of insects called *Diablotins* (little devils). An infinitude of other worms contribute equally to its loss in the colonies.

The worms had never visited the cotton plant in the valleys of Aragua until the year 1802, and

their appearance then has been attributed to the abundant rains which fell in the four preceding years.

As soon as the harvest is finished, some French planters, and the English generally, cut the cotton plant; the former merely every second or third year, the latter every year, and within three or four inches of the ground. The Spanish, as well as the generality of the French, are of opinion, that in replanting it every year they are ensured a better crop; and in conformity to this belief, all the planters who have sufficient hands to perform this increase of labour, renew every year their plantations of cotton.

Several of them have asserted, that the shoots of the cotton plant do not give half the quantity of cotton yielded by the original plant.

Cleansing.—It is not merely in its cultivation that the cotton requires most care; it derives its value chiefly from the manner in which it is prepared. The cleaning or picking is unquestionably the most delicate operation; it is above all essential that the cotton should be freed from the grains which it envelopes in the pod, and that these grains should be removed whole.

If broken, they impart yellow stains to the cotton, which diminish its value in proportion to the extent of the damage. The principal merit of cotton consists in its whiteness; and whatever contributes to deprive it of that quality, does it a material injury.

The most advisable mode of cleansing the cotton perfectly, is to pick it with the hands, but its slowness is discouraging. A workman, whatever may be his activity, cannot clean more than eight pounds per day. This sole operation, therefore, would employ more hands and more time than the whole cultivation, and would cause expenses which would increase enormously the price of cotton. This is assigned as the cause why its cultivation has been so much retarded in Tierra Firme. In fact, it experienced no increase until mills for cleaning cotton were introduced. The use of these machines has so rapidly become general, that some plantations possess from twenty to twenty-five. With the assistance of one of them, a person can clean with ease twenty-five pounds of cotton per day. In the valleys of Aragua several of the inhabitants have submitted these machines to hydraulic power, and save thereby much expense and time. The purity of the cotton is greatly affected by the materials of which the small cylinders, adapted to these machines, are constructed. Wooden rollers cleanse the cotton less expeditiously, but they cleanse it better; those of iron bruise the grains, break the stalk, and singularly alter its qualities. At Cumana, Barquisimeto, and Varinas, wooden rollers only are used; and the cotton from those parts has a marked superiority to that from the valleys of Aragua, where they use none but iron cylinders.

Packing.—In general the Spaniards are less careful of their cotton than the English, French, and above all the Dutch, but they pack it better. Instead of packing it up, like other nations, in bales heavy and incommodious, of which the weight, which is three hundred pounds, renders the management and transportation difficult, and the size occasions it to be ill adapted to stowage, the Spanish make small packages of a quintal, and reduced to so small a compass by the aid of presses, that each package is not more than fifteen inches in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. The package is generally covered with an ox's hide, skilfully arranged so as to protect the cotton from all damage. This method is certainly recommendable to universal adoption.

The colonies, it is true, possessing but few horned cattle, cannot give to their cotton the same envelope which is used by the Creoles: they can only imitate the form of the package, and reason dictates that as the most advisable.

Perhaps it is no disadvantage to the colonists that they cannot employ hides in this manner, since we are assured that this usage ought to be proscribed, because the hide, when wet, emits a liquor which stains the cotton, renders it more difficult to be spun, and less proper for manufacturing.

The exportation of cotton from Caracas, however, is yet of small importance. It amounted at an average, at La Guayra, scarcely to three

or four hundred thousand lbs. a-year; but including all the ports of the former Capitania-General, it arose on account of the flourishing culture of Cariaco, Nueva Barcelona, and Maracaibo, to more than 22,000 quintals.* This is nearly the half of the produce of the whole Archipelago of the West Indies.† The cotton of the valleys of Aragua is of a fine quality, being

* In 1794, the exportation from all the ports of the former Capitania-General, for Spain, amounted to 804,075 pounds of cotton; for other Spanish colonies in America, particularly for the industrious province of Campeachy, where they manufacture a great quantity of cotton goods, 90,482; for foreign colonies, 117,281; total, 1,011,838 pounds. In the same year, La Guayra alone exported but 431,658 pounds, 126,436 pounds of which were from the province of Maracaibo. Exportation of this port, (without including the contraband trade),

1789	- -	170,427 pounds.
1792	- -	258,502 —
1796	- -	537,178 —
1797	- -	107,996 —

The prices in 1794 were from thirty-four to fifty-six piastres the quintal.

† Mr Medford, in his researches on the manufactories of England, reckons, that of 61,380,000 pounds of cotton which these manufactories consumed in 1805, there were 31,000,000 from the United States, 10,000,000 from Brazil, and 10,000,000 from the West Indies. This last quantity was not the produce of a single year, or of the islands alone. The great and little islands together produced, in 1812, only 5,200,000 pounds of cotton, the greater part of which grew in Barbadoes, the Bahama Islands, Dominica, and Grenada. The produce of the soil of the West Indies must not be confounded with their exportation, which is augmented by the carrying trade. Colquhoun, p. 378. Page, tom. i. p. 3.

inferior only to that of Brazil, for it is preferred to that of Carthagena, San Domingo, and the Caribbee Islands. The cultivation of cotton extends, on one side of the lake, from Maracay to Valencia; and on the other, from Guayca to Guigue. The large plantations yield from sixty to seventy thousand pounds a-year. When we reflect, that in the United States, consequently beyond the tropics, in a variable climate, often unfavourable to this produce, the exportation of indigenous cotton rose, in eighteen years, from 1797 to 1815, from 1,200,000 pounds to 83,000,000, it is difficult to form an idea of the immense extent which this branch of commerce will attain, when national industry shall cease to be shackled, in Caracas, in New Grenada, in Mexico, and on the banks of the River Plate. In the present state of things, the coasts of Dutch Guayana, the Gulf of Cariaco, the valleys of Aragua, and the provinces of Maracaibo and Carthagena, produce, next to Brazil, the greatest quantity of cotton in South America.

SECTION VIII.

INDIGO.

Cacao was exclusively cultivated in the provinces of Caracas till a very recent period. In

1774, Don Pablo Orendain, a priest, and Don Antonio Arroide, applied themselves, to the astonishment of their fellow-citizens, to the culture of indigo, which had previously been attempted and abandoned. All their firmness was requisite to brave the sarcasms of prejudice, which could perceive only folly in requiring indigo from a soil accustomed to yield no other produce than cacao.

The first essay was severely censured, the second experienced less severity; and, after a short time, this pretended madness found numerous apologists. The force of prejudice could not withstand the test of experience; and it was speedily ascertained, that the indigo of Tierra Firme was not inferior in quality to that of Guatimala, the invariable price of which (eighty dollars per hundred) is more than the indigo of any other part of the globe will command.

All new plantations were from that time prepared for indigo, and the valleys of Aragua, chosen for this new species of culture, experienced an unexampled and astonishing rapidity of increase. Immense plains, till then uncultivated, were covered, as if by enchantment, with plantations of indigo. The concourse of cultivators, and the profits resulting from the indigo, occasioned many villages to spring from nothing, and gave to others which were then in a state of ruin, as Maracay, Tulmero, and Victoria, the smiling aspect and substantial consistence of cities. The culture of indigo has extended from the valleys of

Aragua, to the south-west, as far as Varinas: on the coast none of it is seen, nor eastward of Caracas to the Gulf of Paria, nor southward to the Orinoco.

Next to tobacco, the most important culture of the valley of Cumanacoa is that of indigo. The indigo manufacturers of Cumanacoa, of San Fernando, and of Arenas, produce indigo of greater commercial value than that of Caracas; and which often nearly equals in splendour and richness of colour the indigo of Guatimala. It was from this province that the coasts of Cumana received the first seeds of the indigofera anil,* which is cultivated jointly with the indigofera tinctoria. The rains being very frequent in the valley of Cumanacoa, a plant of four feet high yields no more colouring matter than one of a third part this size in the arid valleys of Aragua, to the west of the town of Caracas.

Soil.—Indigo is one of those plants which require a light soil and warm climate.† The land

* The indigo found in commerce, is produced by four species of plants: the indigofera tinctoria, i. anil, i. argentea, and i. disperma. At the Rio Negro, near the frontiers of Brazil, we found the i. argentea growing wild, but only in places anciently inhabited by Indians.

† It has been believed till the present day, that the indigo plant flourishes only in the climate of the torrid zone, and in those parts of the temperate zone which are near the tropics. Experiments recently made by Bruley in Italy have proved, that nature has not excluded Europe from the possession of this plant. It is only requisite to choose, in a southern cli-

destined for it should be well cleared and drain ed; for the same degree of humidity which fa vours the nourishment of the plants, is fatal t indigo.

In ground on which indigo is to be sown, th wood should be cut four months before it is se on fire. The flames consume it then more readi ly to the stumps. The lines or rows are then t be immediately traced, and the earth being thu well cleared, the seeds are to be sown under fa vour of the first rain, and three months suffice t produce a good crop.

mate, a suitable soil and exposure, to profit of the seaso most favourable to vegetation, to sow good seed, and the prin cipal difficulties will disappear. Those which appertain to th manufacture of the indigo would readily yield to a union c talent and observation. With these precautions and these ex pedients, M. Bruley has obtained the indigo plant in the gar dens of the Chateau de la Venerie, near Turin; and by sub mitting it to the process employed at San Domingo, he ex tracted an indigo which might bear comparison with the fines indigo of the colonies.

M. Bruley made his plantations toward the end of February They gave him three cuttings of a plant handsomer than those produced by the generality of land in the torrid zone; for i rose to the height of five feet, while that in America rarel exceeds three feet. It also furnished an equal quantity of in digo with that given by a plant of equal bulk in the colonies These remarks, it is true, are only warranted by small experi ments; possibly, they would experience some variation in larger undertakings.

M. Icard de Bataligni, another colonist, proprietor at San Domingo, and a man of excellent observation, cultivated the indigo plant, in 1805, in the department of Vaucluse.

SOWING.—Attention is due to the choice of seeds and to the manner of making the holes which receive it. They should be three inches deep and two feet distant in good land, but ten inches only in land of bad quality. In the French colonies the holes are but two inches deep, and only from five to six inches distant. The quality of the soil requires it. It is customary to make these holes in straight lines; but at Tierra Firme they also plant in beds, and those who have adopted this method, extol it with as much warmth as every projector employs to defend a new system. In each hole as many grains are thrown as can be taken between the finger and thumb; they are then covered with an inch of earth. It is of no use to sow fields of indigo except in time of rain; the earth must have already imbibed water, or rain must speedily follow the sowing, otherwise the seed becomes heated, corrupts, and is lost with all the labour it has occasioned.

WEEDING.—Provided the season favours vegetation, the indigo begins to sprout the fourth day, often even on the third. At the end of fifteen days it is already assailed by weeds, which finish by destroying it, if the hoe be not speedily employed.

Not only the abundance of the crop, but even the manufacture and quality of the indigo, absolutely require the weeding to be so scrupulously performed as to remove every other plant. If

this care be not rigorously employed, difficu will occur in the fabrication, which canno obviated after the appearance of the indigo. T are occasioned by other herbs being cut and ried to the vat with the indigo. These herbs fermentation, give a juice which deranges all signs of fabrication, and by its interference vents the development and reunion of the es tial parts of the indigo. The indigo thus obt ed is bad in quality and less in quantity than crop promised.

CUTTING.—After three months, the indig commonly fit to cut, and this operation is far f immaterial. It has also its rules and its pr dure. The first object of attention is the m rity of the indigo; the second, to cut the p one inch from the earth. To cut it higher retard the shoots of a second cutting, or even entirely prevent them. Large croo knives are much more convenient for this pose than any other instrument; and at the s time more advantageous with regard to the sequent crops.

The indigo plant is transferred as soon as to the place where art must give it the form der which it becomes merchandise.

The manufactories, says Humboldt, which examined, are all built on the same princip Two steeping vessels or vats, which receive plants intended to be brought into a state of mentation, are joined together. Each of th

is fifteen feet square, and two and a half deep. From these upper vats the liquor runs into beaters, between which is placed the water-mill. The axletree of the great wheel crosses the two beaters. It is furnished with ladles fixed to long handles, adapted for the beating. Depons gives a more detailed and somewhat different account.

All the implements, says he, which are necessary for the chemical process, are reduced to three great vats of mason-work, built one above the other, in such manner that the middle cuve can receive the liquid from that which is above it, and can discharge it into that which is below. The first and most elevated is much larger than the other two. In the French colonies, it is from ten to twelve feet long, nine or ten broad, and three deep. In the province of Venezuela, it is from eighteen to twenty feet long, fourteen or fifteen feet broad, and only twenty inches deep.

The second cuve is not so wide, but much deeper, that the water may be agitated in it without escaping over the edge.

The third cuve, smaller than the preceding, is called the repository. It is there that the indigo undergoes the last operation. But the most essential article to an indigo-maker, is a rapid and very limpid stream of water, that may be employed at pleasure in the fabrication of the indigo.

Fabrication.—We come now to speak of the fabrication or manufacture, which appears in these places so simple, easy, and natural, that it

is confided to Negroes who know nothing, or to whites who are equally ignorant. Both are incapable of giving a reason for the slightest cause; but they know admirably well how to command effects, and to obtain by practice, results of which the most skilful chemists would be proud.

The blue colouring substance, known to us under the name of indigo, is combined with heterogeneous articles, from which the manufacturer must disengage it. This combination is so intimate, that it eludes the nicest eye. Like many other results, it appears to be the product of a peculiar operation, the effect of which gives great satisfaction; but we are groping in the dark when we endeavour to pursue the causes which have contributed to produce it.

The whole body of the plant, compressed in a certain quantity of water, enters into an extremely active fermentation, of which we will notice the details.

In proportion as the caloric increases, azote is disengaged, the herbaceous mucilage separates, the vegetable is decomposed, the mixture absorbs oxygen. At first the liquor takes in the basin a green tinge. It is strongly agitated, that the elements of the vegetable may subtilize, and the fermentation speedily augments to the highest degree. The fermenting fluid passes from a green to a violet tinge, and this by degrees changes to a blue colour.

The first fermentation takes place in the first cuve, in which very clear water had been pre-

viously placed. The plant is prevented from swimming, by being pressed beneath the surface. The state of the plant, the ground that produced it, and the season in which it was cut, are guides to direct the manufacturer. This fermentation takes place more or less promptly, according to causes which concur to hasten or retard it. Ten, twenty, and thirty hours, are most frequently the term; it rarely requires a longer time. In Tierra Firme, when not prevented by the state of the plant, nature of the soil, or the season, twelve hours suffice for the fermentation. The great art of the fabricator is to check it at a proper degree. If the fermentation is too feeble, or too brief, the plant remains impregnated with much essential salt, which diminishes the quantity of the indigo. If it be too long, the tender extremities of the plant undergo a putrefaction, which destroys the colour.

The odour of the fermenting liquid, and the numerous flies which fly over it, are signs to which the indigo-makers of Tierra Firme attach most weight. There was published at San Domingo, some years ago, the following criterion, to ascertain invariably the correct fermentation of the indigo:—

It is only requisite to write on white paper with the matter to be examined. If this ink be of very high colour, it is a proof that the fermentation is not yet at its true point. The experiment is repeated every quarter of an hour, till it is per-

ceived that the liquid has lost its colour. This was pronounced an infallible index to shew the true point of fermentation. This test had its time and its mode; but the planters returned to the use of the silver cup.

When the fermentation is advanced, some of the liquid is thrown into a silver cup, and shaken till grains are formed: by their quality, and that of the fluid, they judge of the fermentation. In this experiment, the best method is to draw off the liquid, by means of a spout or cock, from the cuve into the cup.*

* The active genius and constant observation of the inhabitants of San Domingo, have carried the preparation of colonial produce to a degree of perfection which the neighbouring colonies have been unable to attain. The fabrication of indigo alone seemed condemned to be the perpetual sport of chance, and the caprice of circumstances. Its success was always doubtful. The fabricator of indigo who lost only a tenth of the cuves or vats of that plant, was considered as skilful. There were some who lost a fourth. The honour of ascertaining invariable rules, was reserved for the intelligence and experience of M. Nazon, an inhabitant of the quarter of Mirbalais. The arts are indebted to him for certain marks, according to which, indigo is made upon principles as constant as those which direct the refiner in the manufacture of sugar. M. Bruley, who has imparted this discovery in an excellent memoir upon indigo, expresses himself thus:—By judicious observations and long experience, M. Nazon has been enabled to secure the success of all the cuves of indigo.

To obtain this colouring substance, the indigo plant must be cut in its maturity. It must be put entire to macerate, in a basin of mason-work called a cuve. The dimensions of it are twelve feet, French measure: quatre metres.

After signs of complete fermentation are obtained, the whole contents of the first cuve are

The maceration requires from fifteen to thirty, and even thirty-six hours, more or less, according to the temperature that is experienced at the moment. It is also necessary to have regard to the quality of the plant, the nature of the soil that produced it, and that of the water in which it is immersed.

The first index which shows that the maceration approaches its proper point, is the sinking of the scum or foam, which rises into the space of about a sixteenth of a metre, that was left vacant in the cuve on compressing the herbs: (a metre is three feet). When the cuve is covered with a kind of crust of a copper blue, the moment of sufficient maceration is not far distant. This symptom, however, is insufficient, and often deceitful. There is another on which more reliance can be placed; that is, to draw from a spout or cock in the lower part of the cuve a little of the fluid it contains. It is received in a silver cup: when the feculent particles begin to precipitate to the bottom of the cup, then it is judged that the herbs have attained the true degree of maceration for obtaining indigo.

Such was the procedure most in use, but it too often led to error. A certain mean to ensure correctness, is to observe carefully the water contained in the cup. Five or six minutes after it has been placed there, it forms round the sides of the cup a glory (aureole), or cordon of feculæ or sediment, at first of a green colour, and then blue. When the maceration is not at the requisite point, this cordon or girdle has difficulty to detach itself from the sides of the cup, but finally precipitates, and concentres at the bottom of the vase, always towards the centre, and the water above it becomes limpid, though of a yellowish tinge.

When these signs are perceived, they indicate, infallibly, the success of this first operation. The liquid is then passed into a second basin or cuve, made below the former. Of this second cuve the use is to beat the fluid, still charged with the

passed into the second, where it undergoes another process still more important, as it is intended to separate the carbonic acid, and to facilitate the reunion of the particles composing the blue feculæ or sediment. This object is obtained by violently agitating the fluid. No less care, attention, and experience, are requisite in this, than in the preceding operation. According as it is well or ill performed, it may correct the errors of imperfect fermentation, or may occasion the loss of

feculæ. That it may speedily detach itself, it is stirred: this operation is performed with the arm, or with a mill. It is essential that it be not beaten too long a time. Excess of beating mixes anew the feculæ with the water, from which they cannot be again separated, and the contents of the cuve are lost: in place of indigo, only troubled water is obtained.

The latter inconvenience may be easily avoided, with a little attention. When it is observed that the feculent particles are sufficiently united, the water is poured from the cuve into a third or smaller basin or cuve. The bottom of the second cuve is found covered with a blue and very liquid paste: this is received in sacks of coarse linen, in form of reversed cones; and the watery parts are left to drain from them. The sacks are then emptied upon tables in the drying places; the blue paste is kneaded; when it becomes thick, it is spread and cut in small squares, that it may the sooner become dry. The indigo is then made, and is soon sufficiently dry to be marketable.

I suppress details contained in a much longer memoir, of which I only furnish an extract.

Experience has proved that this process has never failed to produce complete success: more than five hundred cuves, fabricated according to it in different quarters of San Domingo, have furnished proofs of its correctness.

indigo, which has thus far been correctly fabricated. If it be not sufficiently beaten, the grain is left diffused in the water, without reuniting at the bottom of the cuve: the mass of feculent matter that forms the indigo is also diminished. If it be beaten too much, the grain is dissolved and broken.

The facility with which the grain precipitates to the bottom of the second cuve, is an unequivocal sign that the beating has arrived at the correct point. We should not hesitate to pour off the water, and to empty the miry or feculent matter into the third cuve.

It only remains to put the indigo into sacks, which should be suspended to facilitate the expression of the water it still retains. It is then put to dry in the sun, in boxes made for the purpose, or on planks of brasiletto, which, having small wheels, can be sheltered under a roof in case of sudden rains. These sloping and very low roofs give the drying-place the appearance of a hot-house at some distance. Before it is perfectly dry, it is cut in small pieces of an inch square, which detach themselves readily from the box when the indigo is entirely dry.

The inhabitants of Tierra Firme dry the indigo under sheds. This method is more tedious, but is favourable to the quality of the indigo. Its combination is more intimate, as is proved by the hardness it acquires. The different actions it experiences increase its lustre. In short, the

weight in proportion to bulk, is greater than that of indigo dried in the sun. Yet, however well drained and dried the indigo may be, it always experiences, in the first months of its fabrication, a diminution sufficiently evident to warrant a hastening of the sale.

It is customary to pack the indigo in barrels, and thus to circulate it in commerce. The Spaniards alone put it in packages of a hundred pounds, and so well conditioned, that the rough usage they encounter between the place of manufacture and the sea-port does not occasion any damage.

Indigo is packed in sacks of coarse linen, and the sack is covered with an ox's hide, so hermetically sewed that nothing can penetrate it. These packets are called *ceroons.* They possess great advantages over barrels. They are more solid; may fall on stones without incurring danger; and are much more convenient for transportation. Two ceroons make the load of one animal. They are stowed to much greater advantage in stores and buildings; and in their circulation in Europe, they have much less to fear from the carelessness or unskilfulness of carriers.

Humboldt observes, that in the valley of Cumanacoa the fermentation of the plant is produced with astonishing rapidity. It lasts in general but four or five hours. This short duration can be attributed only to the humidity of the climate, and the absence of the sun during the unfolding

of the plant. I think I have observed, says he, in the course of my travels, that the drier the climate is, the slower the vat works, and the greater the quantity of indigo, at the minimum of oxidation, contained in the stalks. In the province of Caracas, where 562 cubic feet of the plant slightly piled up yield 35 or 40 pounds of dry indigo, the liquid does not pass into the beater till after 20, 30, or 35 hours. It is probable, that the inhabitants of Cumanacoa would extract more colouring matter from the plant employed, if they left it longer steeping in the first vat.* During his abode at Cumana, Humboldt made solutions of the indigo of Cumanacoa, somewhat heavy and coppery, and that of Caracas, in sulphuric acid, in order to compare them: and the solution of the former appeared to him of a much more intense blue.

The anil, or indigo, of these provinces, has always been considered in commerce as equal, and sometimes superior to that of Guatimala. This branch of culture has since 1772 followed that of cacao, and preceded the cultivation of cotton and coffee. The predilection of the colonists has been alternately fixed on each of these four productions; but the cacao and coffee are now the only important branches of commerce with Europe. In the most prosperous times, the fab-

* The planters are pretty generally of opinion that the fermentation should never continue less than ten hours.

rication of indigo has almost equalled that of Mexico;* it rose in the province of Venezuela to 40,000 arrobas, or a million of pounds, the value of which exceeded 1,250,000 piastres.† We shall here give from official documents the progressive augmentation of this branch of agriculture at Aragua.

Exportation of indigo by the way of La Guayra.
Annual mean from 1774 to 1778— 20,300 pounds.

1784—126,233
1785—213,172
1786—271,005
1787—432,570
1788—505,956
1789—718,393
1792—680,229
1794—898,353
1796—737,966.

In this statement no attention has been paid to the contraband trade, which may be computed for indigo at least at a fourth or fifth of the annual exportation. To form an idea of the immense riches arising from agriculture in the former Spanish colonies, we must recollect, that the indigo of Caracas, the value of which amounted in 1794 to more than six millions of francs, was the produce of four or five square leagues. In the years

* The commerce of Guatimala amounts to 1,200,000 or 1,500,000 pounds of indigo.

† The pound of indigo at ten reals of plate.

1789—1795, near four or five thousand freemen came annually from the Llanos to the valleys of Aragua, to assist in the culture and fabrication of indigo. They worked during two months, by the day.

The indigo plant impoverishes the soil where it is cultivated during a long series of years, more than any other. The lands of Maracay, Tapatapa, and Turmero, are looked upon as exhausted; and indeed the produce of indigo has been constantly decreasing. Maritime wars have caused a stagnation in the trade, and the price has fallen in consequence of the frequent importation of indigo from Asia. The East India Company now sells at London* more than 5,500,000 pounds weight of indigo, while in 1786 it did not draw from its vast possessions more than 250,000 pounds. In proportion as the cultivation of indigo has decreased in the valleys of Aragua, it has increased in the province of Varinas, and in the burning plains of Cucuta, where, on the banks of the Rio Tachira, virgin land yields an abundant produce, and of the richest colour.

* For example, in 1810; see Colquhoun, App. p. 23.

SECTION IX.

OTHER VEGETABLE PRODUCTS.

1. VANILLA is produced from a creeping plant, which, like the wild vine and ivy, entwines round the trees.

It grows in great plenty in the forests of San Philip and Truxillo, on the banks of the Tuy. It requires uncultivated and moist grounds, which are covered with large trees.

To multiply the number of this valuable plant, nothing more is necessary than to insert some cuttings in the earth near a tree: they soon take root, and entwine about it with a firm hold. A surer but less convenient method to prevent the decay of the plant, is to graft the cuttings in the tree itself, about twenty inches above the ground.

The province of Venezuela alone, notwithstanding the little attention paid to its cultivation, might raise upwards of ten thousand pounds weight of it a-year; and the quantity might soon be doubled by a little additional industry.

It is worth above L.4 per lb.

This interesting article of trade is to the inhabitants of Tierra Firme little more than an object of mere curiosity. They do not sell above two hundred pounds weight of it in the year. The whole that is gathered is intended for presents to be sent to Spain to their parents or their

patrons, by the agents of the government, and those who are soliciting employments. The rest is suffered to perish on the trees, or to be devoured by the monkeys, who are very fond of it. The little that is gathered receives, besides, but a very imperfect preparation, the defect of which occasions it to lose the superiority which by nature it possesses over that of Mexico.

2. The COCOA TREE, in America, is in general cultivated around farm houses to be eaten as fruit.* In the Gulf of Cariaco it forms real plantations. At Cumana, they talk of a hacienda de coco, as of a hacienda de canna, or de cacao.

In a fertile and moist ground, the cocoa tree begins to bear fruit in abundance the fourth year; but in dry soils it yields produce at the end of ten years only. The duration of the tree does not in general exceed eighty or a hundred years; and its mean height at this period is from seventy to eighty feet. This rapid growth is so much the more remarkable, as other palm trees, for instance, the moriche,† and the palm of Sombrero,‡ the longevity of which is very great, frequently do not reach above fourteen or eighteen feet in sixty years.

In the first thirty or forty years, a cocoa tree of the Gulf of Cariaco bears every lunation a

* The cocoa tree grows in the northern hemisphere from the equator to the latitude of 28°. Near the equator we find it from the plains to 700 toises of elevation above the level of the sea.

† Mauritia flexuosa. ‡ Corypha tectorum.

cluster of ten or fourteen nuts, all of which, however, do not ripen. It may be reckoned, that on an average a tree produces annually a hundred nuts, which yield eight flascos* of oil. The flasco is sold for two rials and a half of plate, or sixteen-pence. In Provence, an olive tree, thirty years old, yields twenty pounds, or seven flascos of oil; so that it produces something less than a cocoa tree. There are in the Gulf of Cariaco haciendas of eight or nine thousand cocoa trees. They resemble, in their picturesque appearance, those fine plantations of date trees, near Elche, in Murcia, where, in one square league, are found upwards of 70,000 palms. The cocoa tree bears fruit in abundance till it is thirty or forty years old; after this age the produce diminishes, and a trunk a hundred years old, without being altogether barren, yields very little produce.

In the town of Cumana, a great quantity of oil of cocoa is made, which is limpid, without smell, and very fit for burning. The trade in this oil is not less brisk than that on the coast of Africa for palm oil, which is obtained from the *elays guineensis*, and is used as food. At Cumana, says Humboldt, I have often witnessed the arrival of canoes, laden with 3000 cocoa nuts. A tree in full bearing yields an annual revenue of two piastres and a half, (eleven shillings and tenpence

* One flasco contains 70 or 80 cubic inches, Paris measure.

halfpenny). But in the haciendas of cocoa, trees of different ages being mixed, the capital* is estimated by appraisers only at four piastres.

3. Wild Cochineal grows in Tierra Firme, and in great quantities in Coro, Carora, and Truxillo. It is only used for dyeing, and that merely in the parts where it is raised. The result of their own trials has never inclined the inhabitants to introduce it as an article of commerce.

Excellent cochineal is produced in Cundinamarca.

4. This country might also be made to furnish the dyer with a variety of woods, barks, and plants, calculated to produce lively and permanent colours.

None of these articles, however, constitute any part of their commerce, because they are not offered for sale; although the advantage derived

* These valuations may serve to throw some light on the advantages derived from the culture of fruit trees under the torrid zone. Near Cumana, a banana is valued, by estimation, at one real de plata (6½d.). A nispero, or sapota, at 10 piastres. Four cocoa nuts, or eight fruits of the nispero (achras sapota), are sold for half a real. The price of the former has doubled within these twenty years, on account of the great exportation that has been made to the islands. A good bearing nispero yields the farmer who can sell the fruit in a neighbouring town, near eight piastres a-year; a bixa (anotto tree) or a pomegranate tree, yields only one piastre. The pomegranate is much sought after on account of the refreshing juice of its fruit, which is preferred to those of the passiflora or parcha.

from them on the spot, affords a favourable earnest of what might be expected from them in manufactories.

Maracaibo is almost the only port from which a little Brazil-wood is exported. This grows in abundance between La Victoria and San Sebastian de los Reyes.

But the more those immense forests, which have been till now the exclusive domain of ferocious animals and venomous reptiles, are penetrated, the more new productions will undoubtedly be discovered, to enrich the arts and to extend commerce.

In New Grenada, the natural productions are the excellent dye-woods of the northern shore, which are reckoned even superior to those of Yucatan.

5. Gums, resins, and balsams, would make a conspicuous figure in commerce, were it not for the carelessness of the inhabitants, who prefer the sweets of indolence and repose to the prospect of future benefit.

The departments of Coro, Carora, Tocuyo, and Upper Guiana, contain much dry land, which nature has covered with aromatic plants.

6. It would be impossible to specify all the herbs, roots, and barks, which Tierra Firme offers for medicinal purposes. They are innumerable, and lie scattered in the different provinces, in such situations as are most congenial to their growth.

The quantity of sarsaparilla raised here exceeds the consumption of the whole of Europe. Sassafras and liquorice abound principally in the neighbourhood of Truxillo; squills are found on the sea-beach of Lagunetas; storax in the jurisdiction of Coro; cassia almost every-where; guayac is found on the coast; aloes are raised in the jurisdiction of Carora; a species of quinguina is obtained on the mountains, &c.

New Grenada abounds with medicinal drugs, amongst which are the celebrated cinchona, or Jesuit's bark, and contrayerva.

Yet amidst the immensity of other vegetable productions, which would be amply sufficient to supply all the pharmacy of Europe, in 1796 there was exported by the port of Guayra, the only one then permitted to trade directly with the mother-country, but 425 pounds of sarsaparilla, although the plains and valleys were covered with it; 500 pounds of tamarinds, which are every-where to be found; and 239 pounds of Jesuits' bark, which, it must be allowed, is not so common. It is true, that this carelessness carries with it the appearance of diminution; for, according to the account of exports from the same ports of Guayra for the year 1798, it appears, that the neutral vessels which were admitted there in consequence of the war, shipped 3674 pounds of sarsaparilla, and 3400 pounds of resin. In 1801 there were shipped from Porto Cavello, 2394 pounds of sarsaparilla, and 47,969 of gum guaia-

cum. But these articles, and their quantities, are altogether unworthy of notice when compared with those which are to be found in the provinces of Caracas.

7. There are few or no trees found in the numerous and extensive forests of Tierra Firme which are not adapted for some purpose of utility. They either produce fruit, or are selected either for their hardness, their bulk, or their height, to be applied to all the various uses for which wood is employed.

The vast forests which cover the mountains would be capable of furnishing, for ages, the most extensive ship-yards with an abundant supply of timber, if the roughness of these mountains did not render the labour of cutting and conveyance too difficult and too expensive for a country, whose navigation does not receive sufficient encouragement to enable it to support its own expense.

It is twenty years since the king of Spain ordered arrangements to be made in the province of Cumana for the felling of wood to supply his European arsenals. This work did not last long; but it did not cease so much on account of any scarcity of wood, as on account of the immense expenses which accompany every undertaking in which the king is concerned. When an occasion of this kind presents itself, every overseer always forms, and very frequently realizes schemes of making his fortune, in consequence of which the

state is often ruined by the operations which enrich individuals.

All the timber which is consumed in the port for the refitting, and even for the building of vessels, is transported by the rivers of Tocuyo and Yaraqui to Porto Cabello, situate fifteen leagues to the windward.

A little more to the windward of the mouth of the Tocuyo, in the latitude of the small Tucacas Islands, the proximity of wood facilitates the establishment of yards, but the want of demand causes that resource to be neglected. At Maracaibo they use, for building, timber of superior quality to that of Tierra Firme; accordingly the yards of that city are constantly busy, and would be still more so, if the bar permitted the egress of ships of a larger size.

Carpenters and cabinet-makers find likewise in these mountains materials so various, as to embarras them in the choice. In general they use the wood which the Spaniards call *pardillo*, for beams, joists, door-frames, and posts, &c. In some places, instead of the pardillo, a species of very hard oak is used, which is the *quercus cerus* of Linnæus, and the *quercus gallifer* of Tournefort.

Cabinet-makers make great use of cedar for doors, windows, tables, and common chairs, &c. For ornamental furniture, they have at hand several kinds of wood susceptible of the highest polish. Among these is distinguished the black

ebony, found in the greatest abundance in several places, but particularly upon the banks of the Totondoy, which falls into the Lake Maracaibo. It is there that nature seems to have placed the nursery of those trees which are most subservient to the necessities, the pleasure, and the caprice of man. Yellow ebony is very common in the forests of Tierra Firme, so likewise is red ebony. The Creoles call the black ebony, *ebano;* yellow, *palo amarillo;* the red, *granadillo.* Minute accuracy obliges us to observe, that from one of those causes which philosophy has not yet explored among the secrets of nature, mahogany in Tierra Firme is not so abundant as it is in that part of San Domingo which Spain ceded to France, nor can it bear any comparison with respect to its shades or gloss.

For works which require extraordinary hard wood, they employ iron-wood, the *ybera puterana* of Marcgrave. It is used for the shafts of the wheels of water-mills, for the rollers with which the cylinders are jointed for pressing the sugar-canes, &c. This kind of wood is common through the whole of Tierra Firme, excepting in the valleys of Aragua, where, on account of the clearing of the lands, it is a little farther distant. The wood which they call *granadillo,* or red ebony, is applied to the same uses as the iron-wood, and it surpasses even that wood in hardness.

In Cundinamarca exist timber for ship-building, and the mahogany of Panama, better and

more beautiful than that of Guatimala or New Spain.

In concluding our observations on the vegetable products of Colombia, we should remark, that cassava or manioc root, and maize, form the bread of the Indians. In Cundinamarca European wheat is cultivated by the Creoles, and the tropical and European plants and vegetables are produced in as much abundance as they are in New Spain.

SECTION X.

ANIMAL PRODUCTS.

It is very difficult to form an exact idea of the herds contained in the Llanos of Caracas, Barcelona, Cumana, and the Spanish Guayana. M. Depons, who inhabited the town of Caracas long, and whose statistical statements are generally accurate, reckons in those vast plains, from the mouths of the Orinoco to the Lake of Maracaibo, 1,200,000 oxen, 180,000 horses, and 90,000 mules. He estimates the produce of these herds at 5,000,000 francs; adding to the value of the exportation the price of the hides consumed in the country. We will not hazard any of these general estimations, from their nature too uncertain; but shall only observe, that, in the Llanos of Caracas, the proprietors of the great hatos are

entirely ignorant of the number of the cattle they possess. They only know that of the young cattle, which are branded every year with a letter or mark peculiar to each herd. The richest proprietors mark as many as 14,000 head every year; and sell to the number of five or six thousand.

According to official documents,* the exportation of hides from the whole Capitania-General amounted annually, for the West Indian Islands alone, to 174,000 skins of oxen, and 11,500 of goats. When we reflect, that these documents are taken from the books of the custom-houses, where no mention is made of the fraudulent dealings in hides, we are tempted to believe that the estimation of 1,200,000 oxen, wandering in the Llanos from the Rio Carony and the Guarapiche to the Lake of Maracaibo, is much underrated. The port of La Guayra alone exported annually from 1789 to 1792, 70,000 or 80,000 hides entered in the custom-house books, scarcely one-fifth of which was for Spain. The hides of Caracas are preferred in the Peninsula to those of Buenos Ayres; because the latter, on account of a longer passage, undergo a loss of twelve per cent in the tanning.

The southern part of the savannahs, vulgarly called Llanos de arriba, is very productive in mules and oxen; but the pasturage being in ge-

* Informe del Conde de Casa-Valencia, *manuscript*.

neral less good, these animals are obliged to be sent to other plains to be fattened before they are sold. The Llano de Monai, and all the Llanos de abaxo, abound less in herds; but the pastures are so fertile, that they furnish meat of an excellent quality for provisioning the coast.

The hatos of oxen have suffered considerably of late from troops of vagabonds, who roam over the steppes, killing the animals merely to take their hides. This robbery has increased since the trade of the Lower Orinoco is become more flourishing. For half a century, the banks of that river, from the mouth of the Apure as far as Angostura, were known only to the missionary monks. The exportation of cattle took place from the ports of the northern coast only, Cumana, Barcelona, Burburata, and Porto Cabello. This dependence on the coast is now much diminished. The southern part of the plains has established an internal connexion with the Lower Orinoco; and this trade is the more brisk, as those who devote themselves to it easily escape the trammels of the prohibitory laws.

The greatest herds of cattle that exist in the Llanos of Caracas, are those of the hatos of Merecure, La Cruz, Belen, Alta Gracia, and Pavon.

The horses of the Llanos, descending from the fine Spanish breed, are not very large; they are generally of an uniform colour, brown-bay, like most of the wild animals. Suffering alternately from drought and floods, tormented by the stings

of insects and the bite of the large bats, they lead a hard and uneasy life. After having enjoyed for some months the care of man, their good qualities are developed, and become sensible. A wild horse in the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, is worth from half to a whole piastre; and in the Llanos of Caracas, from two to three piastres; but the price of the horse augments, when he has been broken in, and is fit for agricultural labour.

"I was enabled, says Lavaysse, to ascertain a fact known to all who have travelled in this country: The horses live there in societies, generally to the number of five or six hundred, and even one thousand: they occupy immense savannahs, where it is dangerous to disturb or try to catch them. In the dry season they are sometimes obliged to go two or three leagues, and even more, to find water. They set out in regular ranks of four abreast, and thus form a procession of an extent of a quarter of a league. There are always five or six scouts who precede the troop by about fifty paces. If they perceive a man or jaguar (the American tiger) they neigh, and the troop stops; if avoided, they continue their march; but if an attempt be made to pass by their squadron, they leap on the imprudent traveller, and crush him under their feet. The best way is always to avoid them, and let them continue their route: they have also a chief, who marches between the scouts and the squadron, and five or six other horses march on each side of the band—a kind of adjutants, whose

duty consists of hindering any individual from quitting the ranks. If any one attempts to straggle either from hunger or fatigue, he is bitten till he resumes his place, and the culprit obeys with his head hanging down. Three or four chiefs march as the rear-guard, at five or six paces from the troop. I had often heard at Trinidad of this discipline among the wild horses, and confess that I could scarcely believe it; but what I have just stated is a fact, which I witnessed twice on the banks of the Guarapiche, where I encamped five days for the express purpose of seeing those organized troops pass. I have met on the shores of the Orinoco, herds of fifty to a hundred oxen: a chief always marched at the head, and another at the rear of these."

The mules, which are not fit for labour before the fifth year, and then bear the name of *mulas de saca*, are purchased on the spot at the price of fourteen or eighteen piastres. In 1800, eight thousand mules were embarked at Barcelona for the West India Islands; and it is computed that the plains of the government of Caracas furnished annually 30,000 of these animals to the Spanish, English, and French islands.

Sheep are innumerable, and deer very plentiful, particularly in the jurisdictions of Coro, Carora, and Tocuyo.

In fine, almost every species of European quadruped, which has been transported into those countries, has become wild, and multiplied exces-

sively in the forests which abound in the necessary means for their subsistence. The horned cattle and the horse have not preserved the beauty of the Spanish oxen and the blood horse, no doubt from the little care that is taken of them; but the ass has become larger and more handsome. The horses of Buenos Ayres and Chili, however, rival those of the finest breeds in Europe. The goat is smaller than the European; but its flesh is better, and it yields an abundance of delicious milk. The sheep when taken care of equals the finest species in Spain. Swine are not so large as in Europe, but are more prolific; and their fresh meat is more delicate and easy of digestion than that of the European hog.

It seems certain that the dog did not exist here previous to the arrival of Europeans; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that those which inhabit the forests with the savages, who are excessively fond of them, have lost the faculty of barking: they make a plaintive howling like wolves.

CHAPTER II.

COMMERCE.

SECTION I.

ITS FORMER STATE.

An industrious compiler, whose language we shall alter only where it is incorrect, informs us on this subject, that the general depression of manufactures which followed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, made it necessary to obtain goods from other countries to supply her colonies. These principally came from Holland, England, France, and some fineries were derived from Italy. They paid enormous duties at home; and when they arrived at their destination, new ones were exacted, so that the articles were doubled in value before they came to the retailer. Having moreover little exports, cash was the principal means of procuring them, so that the advantage was greatly against Spain, and in favour of the foreign merchant.

The following *pro forma* will serve to shew at what price the consumer laid in his necessaries,

and will at the same time form a contrast of trade direct from England.

Calculated in English money.

For L.100 value of British manufactures, purchased in Great Britain, and sent out to Cadiz in British ships. From Cadiz sent out to Spanish America in Spanish ships:—

First cost in Great Britain,	£.100	0	0
Shipping charges, freight, and insurance to Cadiz, - -	5	0	0
War duty on the exportation, -	1	0	0
Duty paid on importation into Cadiz,	15	0	0
Importer's profit in Cadiz, -	20	0	0
Duty paid in Cadiz on reshipment to America, - - -	10	0	0
Freight and insurance from Cadiz to America, - - -	20	0	0
First cost and charges out to America, - - -	£.171	0	0
Spanish exporter's profit on arrival out in America, frequently 200 per cent; but say one-half thereof,	171	0	0
Paid by the purchaser in Spanish America, - -	£.342	0	0

Calculated in English money.

For L.100 value of British manufactures, sent out immediately from Great Britain, by British

merchants, in British ships, to Spanish America:—

First cost, - - -	£.100	0	0
War duty paid on the exportation,	4	0	0
Shipping charges and freight out,	10	0	0
Insurance out, if by an armed ship,	6	0	0
First cost, and charges out to America, - - -	£.120	0	0
British exporter's profit, at 100 per cent thereon, - -	120	0	0
Paid by the purchaser in Spanish America, - - -	£.240	0	0
Cheaper to the purchaser in Spanish America, - -	102	0	0
	£.342	0	0

N. B.—To this advantage is added that of a more regular and fair valuation of their produce to form returns, the natural consequence of competition in trade.

The exorbitant price of goods, which the wearer or consumer could not brook, created a spirit of contraband, which again turned out in favour of the foreigner, who principally sold for cash; and the neighbouring English and neutral islands reaped the benefit.

Direct commerce lingered, from the many shackles under which it was kept, and from the rivalship of neutrals; for the mother-country

sent out what she could barely afford,—little more than dried fruits, coarse earthenware and hardware, iron, Catalan brandies and wines, oil, coarse silks from Barcelona, pickled tunny fish, and such-like inconsiderable articles. German and English goods still continued to come through their old devious channels.

Thus confined, direct trade varied much, according to the vicissitudes of war or peace. During the late wars, it was principally limited to small faluchos, that went out with Spanish paper, used in enveloping tobacco for smoking, which may be considered as one of the greatest luxuries of the Spanish American, who often bought it at forty dollars per ream; and it would be worth while, should Spain cease to supply this article, principally made in Barcelona, to adopt its manufacture in England, as it exclusively suits the smoker, from its containing no pernicious empyreumatic oil, nor any sizing or indigo. To this article they added uncoloured brandies, and quicksilver for the use of the mines. If they got out safe, they returned with cacao in bulk, which they laid in at 15 dollars and sold on arriving at 112. These were, however, small adventures, that bore not the character of trade, but that of a lottery, like which also they were undertaken in shares, and insurance included.

The commerce of the provinces of Caracas with the mother-country was almost all carried on by the port of Guayra, which, notwithstanding

its bad road, disputed for a long time with the other ports the advantage of being most frequented. The reason was, that the environs of Caracas, where productions are most abundant, have no other vent but the capital, which, in its turn, cannot export them but at Guayra; and, as the population of this great city consumes the most of articles of necessity, comfort, and luxury, the trader is interested in resorting to it.

In consequence of these circumstances, Porto Cabello, thirty leagues to leeward, was never used as the port of shipment, excepting of the articles produced in its environs, in part of the valleys of Aragua, Valencia, San Carlos, San Philippe, &c. If it happened, too, that the natural produce so far increased as to exceed the value of the goods brought by European vessels, the traders repaired to Guayra to discharge their European cargoes, of which they could not otherwise expect a good sale, and afterwards went to Porto Cabello to load in return.

Maracaibo, Cumana, and Guiana, received annually each two or three vessels from the mother-country; but at Maracaibo they could obtain in return cargoes only of coffee and deer skins; at Cumana, cotton, and a little coffee; at Guiana, only the produce brought there from Varinas, Barquisimeto, &c. by the river Apure.

SECTION II.

ITS PRESENT PROSPECTS.

NOTWITHSTANDING what we have just said, sufficient to consider the position of the provin their more or less intimate connexion with Windward Islands, the direction of the mount and the course of the great rivers, to perc that Caracas can never exert any powerful p cal influence over the countries of which it is capital. The Apure, the Meta, and the Orin running from west to east, receive all the str of the Llanos, and the region of pasturage. Thomas in Guiana must necessarily be at a future day a place of trade of high importa especially when the flour of Cundinamarca, barked above the confluence of the Rio Ne and the Umadea, and descending by the I and Orinoco, shall be preferred at Caracas Guiana to the flour of New England.

" Since my departure from the banks of the noco and the Amazon, says Humboldt, a nev unfolds itself in the social state of the natio the west. The fury of civil discussions wil succeeded by the blessings of peace, and a development of the arts of industry. The bifi tion of the Orinoco, the Isthmus of Tuamin easy to pass over by an artificial canal, will fi attention of commercial Europe. The Cassiqu

as broad as the Rhine, and the course of which is one hundred and eighty miles in length, will no longer form in vain a navigable canal between two basins of rivers, which have a surface of one hundred and ninety thousand square leagues. The grain of New Grenada will be carried to the banks of the Rio Negro; boats will descend from the sources of the Napo and the Ucuyabe, from the Andes of Quito and of Upper Peru, to the mouths of the Orinoco, a distance which equals that from Tombuctoo to Marseilles. A country nine or ten times larger than Spain, and enriched with the most varied productions, is navigable in every direction, by the medium of the natural canal of the Cassiquiare, and the bifurcation of the rivers."

This subject naturally leads us here to a more minute description of the Orinoco.

The sources of the Orinoco are little less known by the Spaniards, than those of the Nile were to the Europeans, and even to the Africans, before the time of Bruce.

The mountains to the north-west of the lake Parima, are called, in the language of the Indians, Ibirinocò. It is very probable that they have, according to their custom, given to this celebrated river the name of these mountains, from its there having its source. No one, however, has been able to verify the fact; because the savages form an insurmountable obstacle to it.

Of this Humboldt had positive experience in 1800, at the time of his voyage to Rio Negro.

Arrived at the point where the Cassiquiare branches from the Orinoco, he wished himself to ascertain the real sources of this river; but he found it impossible; he was obliged to content himself with the testimony he could collect from a few Indians.

Several rivulets, flowing from the southern bank of the Ibirinoco mountains, unite their waters at eight or ten leagues from their sources, and form a river, which, in the course of five hundred leagues which it has to traverse to the sea, receives the tribute of an infinity of streams.

It is thought that the course of the Orinoco, for the first hundred leagues, is from north to south. It is said to leave in this space, at sixty leagues from its left bank, the lake of Parima. The contributions of the rivers that unite themselves to the Orinoco, give it such an immense body, and a current so rapid, that even before it flows a hundred leagues from its source, it has as much water and strength as the most considerable rivers.

From the Esmeraldes to San Fernando of Atabapo, the Orinoco runs from the east to the north-west. It is in this place that the canal of Cassiquiare is. It forms the communication of the Orinoco with the Amazons by the Rio Negro.

Humboldt conceived, in 1800, the design of ascending the Orinoco, and determining its communication with the Rio Negro. He entered the Orinoco by the Rio Apure, and arrived, after incredible difficulties, at Fort San Charles, conter-

minous with the Portuguese possessions. "From Fort San Charles," says he, "we have returned to Guiana by the Cassiquiare, a very large branch of the Orinoco, and which forms its communication with the Rio Negro. The force of the current, the immense size of the gnats and emmets, and the want of population, render this navigation fatiguing and dangerous. We entered the Orinoco by the Cassiquiare, at three and a half degrees: we ascended the Orinoco as far as the Esmeraldes, the last establishment of the Spaniards," &c. There certainly wants nothing more to enable the communication of the Orinoco to pass henceforth as a certain fact.

The Orinoco, from its source to the Atures, traverses a territory which it fertilizes, but which is occupied almost entirely by savage Indians.

Before arriving at the Atures, the Orinoco directs its course to the north as far as the mouth of the river Meta, whence it inclines to the north-east, to take at length an eastern direction, which it maintains quite to the sea.

What they call Los Saltos de Atures, are cataracts formed by rocks. No vessel, great or small, can pass these. The navigator has no other resource, whether he ascend or descend the river, than to take his canoe on shore, and carry or drag it to the point where danger no longer exists.

Immediately after the cataracts of Atures, the Orinoco receives from the east the river Abacuna,

and from the west the Bichao. The uncultivated countries they run through, renders the description of them little interesting. It is the same with the rivers Chiricua and Metoya.

The one that merits great consideration is the river Meta: it blends its waters with those of the Orinoco at thirty leagues below the cataracts of Atures, and at 125 leagues from San Thomas of Guiana. Nature seems to have destined this river to form vast commercial relations between the whole eastern part of Cundinamarca and Spanish Guiana.

The Meta has its source at 150 leagues south-west of its mouth in the Orinoco. A number of the rivers of Cundinamarca increase its waters. It is navigable from Macuco, near the plains of Santiago de los Atalayas, within forty leagues of the capital. Its banks are still a wilderness, or inhabited by the Guahivos Indians.

Seventy-five leagues before the entry of the Meta into the Orinoco, the river Casanare gives it its waters. These are, in great part, the tribute of other rivers. The Meta carries its waters to the Orinoco. It distinguishes itself from the other streams that lose their names and their waters in that river, by the silence with which it enters it.

The rivers Meta and Casanare are navigable with sloops throughout the year. In the summer, that is to say, in the dry season, there are continual and fresh breezes; in the winter, calms

and a strong current. They then keep nearer in with the shore: they proceed more slowly, but to the full as certainly as with the most favourable winds. These two rivers have flats, on which the vessels frequently strike; but they get them off without any injury, and almost without any trouble, because they are all sand.

The immensity and richness of the country through which the Meta runs, the great number of rivers that unite themselves with it, are so many means offered to the inhabitants of the eastern part of Cundinamarca, conveniently and advantageously to get rid of their commodities; and to Spanish Guiana, to augment its commerce with all the productions transportable by the river Meta.

This order of things is so natural and so favourable to the two provinces, that, during the little time this intercourse existed, cultivation, on the uppermost banks of the Meta and Casanare, was seen to take a very sensible growth, and the commerce of Guiana to acquire a consistence that carried this province by large strides towards prosperity; but the industry of which this previous intercourse was the fruit, instead of being protected by the Government, was, on the contrary, paralyzed by its orders, on the simple representation of the merchants of Carthagena.

The Spanish minister actually ordered, that thenceforth they should carry from Cundinamarca, by the river Meta, to Guiana, no other terri-

torial productions than flour, and some coars cottons fabricated in those regions, and that the should take back nothing but money. This mea sure was a thunderbolt to these provinces. Com merce was reduced to almost nothing.

Were we to believe that the commerce of Car thagena gained any thing by this, we should de ceive ourselves. The cultivator, divested of th motives that had made him quit his inactivity found it more easy to recline in his hammock, an to struggle, as before, against privations, than t fatigue himself to procure commodities, the lengtl of time and expense of transporting which to Car thagena, would absorb their whole worth, an sometimes more. Thus the productions, and th commerce they fed, were lost for ever.

More recently, they no longer carried to Gui ana, by the river Meta, any thing but hammocks mourning veils, coverlids, and other coarse arti cles in cotton, flour, and a little sugar, withou being in sufficient quantity to export the leas particle. The agents in this mournful commerc were paid in money, which they had not permis sion to employ even in the iron implements o husbandry.

Let us return to the Orinoco, now enriche with the waters of the Meta. Thirty league lower, the Sinaruco empties itself into this rive from the west, after having traversed for abou fifty leagues a country of which no one demand the productions.

Only fifteen leagues more, the Apure enters the Orinoco.

The river Apure takes its source in the mountains neighbouring to San Christopher. It has a course of one hundred and seventy leagues, of which forty are from the north to the south-west, and the rest from the west to the east. It then directs itself to the south, to meet the Orinoco. It is navigable more than sixty leagues.

In its course it augments the body of its waters by those of an infinity of other rivers, some of which are equally navigable, and so much the more useful, that, after having watered a great part of Venezuela, they serve for the transport of those very articles that owe their existence to them. These rivers are, Tinaco, San Carlos, Cojeda, Aguablanca, Acarigoa, Ara, Yarno, Hospina, Maria, the Portuguesa, Guanara, Tucupido, Bocono, Masparo, the Yuca, San Domingo, Paguey, Tisnados, &c. They successively blend their waters in the immense plains of Venezuela. They almost all unite above San Jayme, and form a large body of water, which, at twelve leagues below, throws itself into the Apure, at the distance of twenty leagues to the north of the Orinoco. The shock is so violent, that the agitation is felt to the very middle of the river; and, even at that distance, the swell, the eddies, and the whirlpools, put the navigator in danger.

From the mouth of the Apure, the Orinoco is bounded on the north by the province of Venezuela, and then by that of Cumana quite to the sea.

Upon the banks of the Apure, and the other rivers which it receives, are numberless commons, the animals of which are very much esteemed. They are composed of beeves, horses, and mules, but principally of the last. Their natural exportation is by Guiana, on account of the advantage the country affords of giving them the same feed to the very mouth of the Orinoco.

All that portion of Venezuela which at present forms the newer province of Varinas, and all the southern part of the province of Venezuela itself, are invited, by the facility of transportation, to send their commodities to Guiana, instead of carrying on the backs of mules to Caracas or Porto Cabello, their coffee, their cotton, and their indigo, and travelling a hundred leagues on roads almost impassable, and intersected by rivers that frequently overflow their banks.

The intercourse between the province of Varinas and that of Guiana, is not so much pursued as the nature of things would seem to point out, because the city of San Thomé having hardly any cash, and scarcely ever any vessels from Europe, the cultivator still finds, in the price for his articles at the ports of Venezuela, a compensation for the expense and difficulties inseparable from the long and laborious journey to Caracas and Porto Cabello.

From the junction of the river Apure with the Orinoco, to San Thomé, is reckoned eighty leagues. In all this space, no other rivers of con-

sequence empty themselves into the Orinoco than the Caura and Caucapana.

The navigation of all the upper part of the Orinoco is far from being as easy and certain as the magnitude of the river might induce us to suppose. Interspersed with islands that obstruct its channel, and which throw the bed of it sometimes on the right bank, sometimes on the left,—filled with rocks of every size and of every height, some of which are consequently on a level with the water, and some at a depth more or less disquieting according to the season, and subject to gusts of wind,—the Orinoco permits itself to be navigated only by good pilots, and vessels of a peculiar construction and of a certain size. All this relates only to the navigation that is commenced at the port of Guiana to ascend the Orinoco, or at the mouth of the Meta to descend to the capital.

It remains for us to make known the small space of three degrees fifty-two minutes of longitude, that separates the present capital from the mouth of the Orinoco; and, to profit by Humboldt's valuable observations, we take it in the same order. This is attended with the further advantage of its being the same as the course of navigation up the river.—The exact knowledge of the Delta, and of the course of the Rio Carony, is at once interesting to hydrography and to European commerce.

In order to judge of the extent and configuration of a country intersected by the branches of

the Orinoco, and subject to periodical inundations, Humboldt found it necessary to examine astronomically, the situation of the points in which the summit and the extreme branches of the Delta terminate.

M. de Churruca, who was appointed, together with Don Juacquin Fidalgo, to survey the northern coasts of Tierra Firme and the West India Islands, has ascertained the latitude and longitude of La Boca de Manamo, Punta Baxa, and Vieja Guayana. The Memoirs of M. Espinosa have made known to us the real situation of Punta Barima; so that, on correcting the absolute longitudes by those of Puerto Espana in the island of Trinidad, and of the castle of San Antonio at Cumana, (two points settled by Humboldt's own observations, and the judicious researches of M. Oltmanns), he furnishes statements sufficiently accurate.

It is to be wished, that the difference of meridian between Puerto Espana, and the little mouths of the Orinoco, between San Rafael (the summit of the Delta) and Angostura, may some day be determined by the chronometer in an uninterrupted voyage. The situation of the latter, as Humboldt has given it, rests on that of Cumana, and (by the confluence of the Apure) on Caracas and Porto Cabello.*

* The following are the results of his researches: Puerta Barima, the eastern bank of the great mouth (Boca de Navios) of the Orinoco, corrected by Puerto Espana and Porto Rico,

The whole eastern coast of South America, from Cape Saint Roque, and particularly from the port of Maranham as far as the group of the mountains of Paria, is so low, that it appears difficult to attribute the Delta of the Orinoco, and the formation of its soil, to the accumulated mud of one river.

The Delta of the Nile, indeed, according to the testimony of the ancients, was heretofore a gulf of the Mediterranean, filled up by successive alluvions. It may be easily conceived, that at the mouth of all great rivers, where the velocity of the stream suddenly diminishes, a bank, an island, a deposition of substances which cannot be carried on farther, is formed. It may also be conceived, that the river, obliged to flow round this new bank, divides itself into two branches; and that the accumulating earth, finding a point

according to M. Oltmanns, 62° 26′ 46″; by Cumana, according to Humboldt's direct observations, 62° 20′ 10″: he has thought it right to fix on 62° 23′, because the Spanish navigators set out from the island of Trinidad, and he had settled the longitude of Angostura from that of Cumana, one of the points of America the position of which rests on the most certain statements: Boca de Manamo, nearly the westernmost of the Bocas Chicas del Orinoco, 64° 44′; San Rafael, near the point where the Cano Manamo, which forms the Bocas Chicas, separates from the principal trunk, 64° 18′; Vieja Guayana, 64° 43′: (The latitude observed on land by Churruca is 8° 8′ 24″; almost the same therefore as the latitude of Angostura, which he found to be 8° 8′ 11″: La Cruz and Arrowsmith place Vieja Guayana 18″ and 26″ north of Angostura): Santo Thomé del Angostura, 66° 15′ 21″.

of support at the summit of the Delta, extends farther and farther, widening these branches. What takes place at the first bifurcation, may be effected in each partial channel; so that, by the same processes, nature may form a labyrinth of small bifurcated channels, which are filled up or grow deeper in the lapse of ages, according to the force and direction of the waters.

The principal trunk of the Orinoco has, no doubt, in this manner divided itself, twenty-five leagues west of the Boca de Navios, into two branches, those of the Zacupana and Imataca. The net-work of less considerable branches which the river sends toward the north, and the mouths of which bear the names of Bocas Chicas (little mouths), appears to be a phenomenon entirely similar to that of the Deltas of tributary streams.

The greatest separation of the branches of the Orinoco is forty-seven nautical leagues. This is the breadth of the oceanic Delta between Punta Barima and the westernmost of the Bocas Chicas. An exact survey of those countries being hitherto wanting, the number of the mouths is not known. A vulgar tradition gives seven to the Orinoco, and reminds us of the *septem ostia Nili*, so celebrated in antiquity. But the Delta of Egypt was not always confined to this number; and eleven considerable mouths at least may be counted on the inundated coast of Guayana.*

* Boca de Navios; B. de Lauran (Loran, Laurent); B. de Nuina, two or three leagues west of the Isla Cangrejas, and

After the Boca de Navios, which mariners recognize by the Punta Barima, the Bocas of Mariusas, Macareo, Pedernales, and Manamo Grande, are most useful for navigation.

That part of the Delta which extends to the west of the Boca de Macareo, is bathed by the waters of the Gulf of Paria, or Golfo Triste. This basin is formed by the eastern coast of the province of Cumana and the western coast of the Island of Trinidad. It communicates with the Caribbean Sea by the famous Mouths of the Dragon (Bocas de Dragos), which the coasting pilots have regarded ever since the time of Christopher Columbus, though improperly, as the mouths of the Orinoco.*

two or three fathoms deep; B. Chica de Mariusas, five leagues farther, little known; B. de Vinquinia; B. Grande de Mariusas, very navigable; B. de Macareo (the Cano of this name admits large vessels as far as San Rafael, where it issues from the principal trunk); B. de Cucuina, narrower, but deeper; B. de Pedernales, navigable; B. de Manamo Grande, near the islands of Plata and Pesquero; B. de Guanipa. From Boca de Nuina to Boca de Manamo Grande, the partial distances were indicated at five, seven, eight, six, four, eight, and seven leagues. The synonymy of these branches of the Orinoco is somewhat embarrassing. Is not the B. de Capure, between Pedernales and Macareo, identical with the B. de Cucuina? Does not the Cano de Laurent, which is said to be extremely wide where it separates from the Orinoco, and very narrow at its mouth, lead to one of the two Bocas de Mariusas?

* The waters which issue so impetuously from the Bocas de Dragos, are, 1st, Those of the Atlantic Ocean, the currents of which run toward the coast of Guayana, through the Canal del Sur, (between Punta de Mangles of the Continent, and

When a vessel coming from sea would enter the principal mouth of the Orinoco, the Boca de Navios, it should make the land at the Punta Barima. The right or southern bank is the highest: the granitic rock pierces the marshy soil at a small distance in the interior, between the Cano Barima, the Aquire, and the Cuyuni. The left, or northern bank of the Orinoco, which stretches along the Delta toward the Boca de Mariusas and the Punta Baxa,* is very low,* and is distinguishable at a distance only by the clumps

Punta Galiota of the Island of Trinidad), west-north-west; 2d, The fresh waters of the Bocas Chicas of the Orinoco, (of the Canos Pedernales and Manamo Grande, joined with that of the great Rio Guarapiche). It cannot be doubted, that the Gulf of Paria formed heretofore an inland basin, when the Island of Trinidad was still united on the north to Cape Paria, and on the south-west (Punta de Icacos) to the Punto Foleto, situate east of the Boca de Pedernales. Three small rocky islands, partly cultivated with cotton, (Islas de Monos, de Huebos, and de Chacachacares), divide the passage, which is three or four leagues broad, (between the north-west cape of the Island of Trinidad, near the port of Chaguaramas and the Punta de la Pena, the eastern extremity of the coast of Paria), into four small channels; Boca de Monos, B. de Huebos B. de Navios, and B. Grande. These mouths collectively are called Bocas de Dragos. There are some other small islands nearer the eastern coast of Paria, (El Fraile, El Pato, and El Patito), the existence of which attests the convulsions to which this country has been exposed.

* According to Churruca, lat. 9° 35′ 30″ (or 0° 54′ 55′ farther north than Punta Barima). Humboldt found the longitude to be 63° 21′, as deduced from his observations at Cumana.

of mauritia palm trees which embellish the passage.

This is the sago tree* of the country; it yields the flour of which the yuruma bread is made; and, far from being a palm tree of the shore, like the chamærops humilis, the common cocoa tree, and the lodoicea of Commerson, is found as a palm tree of the marshes as far as the sources of the Orinoco.

In the season of inundations these clumps of mauritia, with their leaves in the form of a fan, have the appearance of a forest rising from the bosom of the waters. The navigator, in proceeding along the channels of the Delta of the Orinoco at night, sees with surprise the summit of the

* The nutritious fecula or medullary flour of the sago tree is found principally in a group of palms, which M. Kunth has distinguished by the name of *calameæ*. It is collected, however, in the Indian Archipelago, as an article of trade, from the trunks of the cycas revoluta, the phœnix farinifera, the corypha umbraculifera, and the caryota urens. The quantity of nutritious matter which the real sago tree of Asia affords, (sagus Rumphii, or metroxylon sagu, Roxburgh), exceeds that which is furnished by any other plant useful to man.' One trunk of a tree, in its fifteenth year, sometimes yields 600 pounds weight of sago, or meal, (for the word sago signifies meal in the dialect of Amboina). Mr Crawford, who resided a long time in the Indian Archipelago, calculates, that an English acre (4020 square metres) could contain 435 sago trees, which would yield 120,500 pounds avoirdupois of fecula, or more than 8000 pounds yearly. This produce is triple that of corn, and double that of potatoes in France. But the plantain produces on the same surface of land, still more alimentary substance than the sago tree.

palm trees illumined by large fires. These are the habitations of the Guaraons, which are suspended from the trunks of trees. These tribes hang up mats in the air, which they fill with earth, and kindle, on a layer of moist clay, the fire necessary for their household wants. They have owed their liberty and their political independence for ages, to the quaking and swampy soil, which they pass over in time of drought, and on which they alone know how to walk in security to their solitude in the Delta of the Orinoco, to their abode on the trees. The mauritia palm tree, the tree of life of the missionaries, not only affords the Guaraons a safe dwelling during the risings of the Orinoco, but its shelly fruit, its farinaceous pith, its juice abounding in saccharine matter, and the fibres of its petioles, furnish them with food, wine,* and thread proper for making cords and weaving hammocks. These customs of the Indians of the Delta of the Orinoco were found formerly in the Gulf of Darien (Uraba), and in the greater part of the inundated lands between the Guarapiche and the mouths of the Amazons. It is curious to observe, in the lowest degree of human civilization, the existence of a whole tribe depending on one single species of palm tree, similar to those insects which feed on one and the same flower, or on one and the same part of a plant.

* The use of this naurichi wine, however, is not very common. The Guaraons prefer in general a beverage of fermented honey.

We must not be surprised to find the breadth of the principal mouth of the Orinoco (Boca de Navios) so differently estimated. The great island Cangrejos is separated only by a narrow channel from the inundated land, which extends between the Bocas de Nuina and de Mariusas, so that twenty or fourteen nautical miles (at nine hundred and fifty toises) are obtained, according as the measure is taken (in a direction opposite to that of the current) from Punta Barima to the nearest opposite bank, or from the same Punta to the eastern bank of the Isla Cangrejos.

The navigable channel is crossed by a sand-bank or bar, on which are seventeen feet of water; the breadth of which is supposed to be from two thousand five hundred to two thousand eight hundred toises. The Orinoco, like the Amazon, the Nile, and all the rivers that separate into several branches, is less wide at the mouth than might be supposed from the length of its course, and the breadth it preserves at some hundred leagues inland.

The Orinoco is inferior to the Amazon in the length of its course, still more than in its breadth within land: it belongs to the rivers of the second rank. But it must be remarked, that all these classifications, from the length of the course, or the breadth of the mouth of rivers, are extremely arbitrary. The rivers of the British islands are terminated by gulfs or lakes of fresh water, in which the tides cause swellings and periodical

oscillations; and remind us sufficiently, that we must not judge of the importance of an hydraulic system,* merely from the extent of the mouths of rivers. Every idea of relative magnitude fails in precision, if we cannot compare the volume of the waters, ascertained by the measurement of the velocity, and the area of the transverse sections.† Rivers of great apparent breadth having basins of little depth, and traversed by several parallel furrows, contain much less water than their first view would lead us to suppose; and the volume of their waters varies so considerably at the two periods of their maximum and minimum,‡ that

* The Thames and the Severn; and in the New World the Rio Guayaquil, which rises at the foot of Chimborazo, and exhibits a striking disproportion between the brevity of its course, and the breadth of its mouth.

† For the knowledge of these active sections (sections vives) in the Ganges and the Nile, we are indebted to the important labours of Major Rennell and M. Girard.

‡ M. Girard found the volume of the Nile, at the port of Syout, in the time of low water, 678 cubic metres in a second, while the Ganges gave him during the inundations 10247 cubic metres. We may judge by analogy of the enormous increase of the Orinoco, if we recollect that it rises 25 feet in places where its mean breadth is 1000 toises. The following is a comparative table of some of the great rivers of the New World, calculating the length of the course according to the most recent maps, and adding one-third for the sinuosities.

The Amazon, 980 leagues, of 20 to a degree.

The Mississippi, 560 leagues, in going up by the principal branch to the Chippeway, but 815 leagues in going up to the sources of the Missouri.

The Rio de la Plata, 530 leagues, in going up by the Rio Paraguay.

during the floods it is often fifteen or twenty times as much as at the season of drought.

When we have doubled the Punta Barima, and entered the bed of the Orinoco, we find it to be only three thousand toises in breadth. Greater estimations have arisen from the error of pilots in measuring the river in a line not perpendicular to the direction of the current: The labyrinth of channels that lead to the little mouths (bocas chicas) changes daily in depth and figure. Many pilots are persuaded, that the Canos of Cocuina, Pedernales, and Macareo, by which a smuggling trade was carried on with the island of Trinidad, have gained in depth of late years; and that the river has a tendency to withdraw from the Boca de Navios, and to run toward the north-west. Before the year 1760, barks that drew more than ten or twelve feet of water seldom ventured into the little channels of the Delta. The fear of the small mouths of the Orinoco has now almost vanished; and enemy's ships, which have never navigated in those parts, find officious and experienced guides in the Guaraons. The civilization of this tribe is of the highest importance to a government that would remain master of the Orinoco.

We may judge of the care and skill which the navigation of the Orinoco requires at its mouth,

The Orinoco, the known part 420 leagues.

(The Indus has a course of 510, and the Ganges of 426 leagues.)

by what daily happens to the Guaraon Indians themselves. Born among the mouths of the Orinoco, living only by a fishery that obliges them incessantly to navigate in the openings and inlets of the islands they exclusively possess and inhabit, they ought always to know exactly where they are; yet these very men, amphibious, as one may say, frequently lose themselves, and are compelled to seek for the current, that they may let it carry them to sea, in order to enter, after discovering where they are, by the channel that is adapted for their return. These channels, formed by that immensity of isles, are so numerous, and have such various directions, that for the most part no current is to be perceived; in others, the eddies and winds establish false currents, which carry you up, instead of down the river. The use of the compass itself does not always, when you are once lost, secure you from wandering for several days among the Guaraon islands, and, in consequence of making a circuit round them, from returning to the very point from whence you set out, believing the whole time that you are either ascending or descending. All these circumstances evince the necessity there is of having a good pilot on board, in order either to enter or go out of the Orinoco.

The flux and reflux of the tide are felt in the month of April, when the river is lowest, beyond Angostura, at a distance of more than eighty-five leagues inland. At the confluence of the

Carony, sixty leagues from the coast, the water rises one foot three inches. These oscillations of the surface of the river, this suspension of its course, must not be confounded with a tide that flows up. At the great mouth of the Orinoco, near Cape Barima, the tide rises to a height of two or three feet; but farther on toward the north-west in the Golfo Triste, between the Boca de Pedernales, the Rio Guarapiche, and the western coast of Trinidad, the tides rise seven, eight, and even ten feet. Such is the influence of the configuration of the coast, and of the obstacles which the Mouths of the Dragon present to the running off of the waters, on points thirty or forty leagues distant from each other.

All that is related in very recent works on the particular currents caused by the Orinoco at 2° or 3° distance in the open sea, on the changes observed in the colour of the sea, and on the fresh waters of the Golfo Triste, is entirely fabulous. The currents, on the whole of this coast, run from Cape Orange toward the north-west; and the variations which the fresh waters of the Orinoco produce in the force of the general current, and in the transparency and reflected colour of the sea, rarely extend farther than three or four leagues east-north-east of the island of Cangrejos.

The waters in the Golfo Triste are salt, though in a less degree than in the rest of the Caribbean Sea, on account of the small mouths of the Delta

of the Orinoco, and the mass of water furnished by the Rio Guarapiche. For these reasons there are no salt-pits on this coast; and Humboldt says he has seen vessels from Cadiz arrive at Angostura laden with salt, and (which characterizes the state of colonial industry) even with bricks for building the cathedral.

The astonishing distance at which the little tides of the coast are felt in the bed of the Orinoco and of the Amazon,* has been hitherto considered as a certain proof, that these two rivers have a slope only of a few feet during a course of eighty-five and of two hundred leagues. This proof, however, does not appear irrefragable, if we reflect, that the magnitude of the transmitted undulations depends much on local circumstances —on the form, the sinuosity, and the number of the channels of communication, the resistance of the bottom on which the tide flows up, the reflexion of the waters by the opposing banks, and their confinement in a strait.

A skilful engineer has recently shewn, that in the bed of the Garonne, the oscillations of the tides go up, as on an inclined plane, far above the level of the waters of the sea at the mouth of the river. At the Orinoco, the tides of unequal height of Punta Barima and of Golfo Triste, are transmitted in unequal intervals of time by the great channel of the Boca de Navios, and by the

* The river of Amazons swells periodically at the Strait of Pauxis, 192 leagues from the coast.

narrow, winding, and numerous channels of the Bocas Chicas. As these little channels separate at one point only from the principal trunk near San Rafael, curious researches might be made on the retardation of the tides, and the propagation of the waves in the bed of the Orinoco, above and below San Rafael, at Cape Barima in the ocean, and at the Boca de Manamo in the Golfo Triste. Hydraulic architecture, and the theory of the movement of fluids in contracted channels, would alike gain from a labour, for the execution of which the Orinoco and the Amazon furnish peculiar facilities.

The navigation of the river, whether vessels arrive by the Boca de Navios, or risk entering the labyrinth of the Bocas Chicas, requires various precautions, according as the bed is full, or the waters very low. The regularity of these periodical risings of the Orinoco has been long an object of admiration to travellers, as the overflowings of the Nile furnished the philosophers of antiquity with a problem difficult to solve. The Orinoco and the Nile, contrary to the direction of the Ganges, the Indus, the Rio de la Plata, and the Euphrates, flow alike from the south toward the north; but the sources of the Orinoco are five or six degrees nearer the equator than those of the Nile. Observing every day the accidental variations of the atmosphere, we find it difficult to persuade ourselves, that in a great space of time the effects of these variations mu-

tually compensate each other; that in a long succession of years, the means of the temperature, of the humidity, and of the barometric pressure, differ so little from month to month; and that nature, notwithstanding the multitude of partial perturbations, follows a constant type in the series of meteorologic phenomena. Great rivers unite, in one receptacle, the waters which a surface of several thousands of square leagues receives. However unequal may be the quantity of rain that falls during several successive years in such or such a valley, the swellings of rivers that have a very long course, are little affected by these local variations. The swellings represent the mean state of the humidity that reigns in the whole basin; they follow annually the same progression, because their commencement and their duration depend also on the mean of the periods, apparently extremely variable, of the beginning and end of the rains in the different latitudes through which the principal trunk and its various tributary streams flow. Hence it follows, that the periodical oscillations of rivers are, like the equality of temperature of caverns and springs, a sensible indication of the regular distribution of humidity and heat, which takes place from year to year on a considerable extent of land. They strike the imagination of the vulgar, as order every-where astonishes, when we cannot ascend to first causes; as the means of temperature of a long succession of months or years surprise

those who see, for the first time, a treatise on climates. Rivers that belong entirely to the torrid zone, display in their periodical movements that wonderful regularity, which is peculiar to a region where the same wind brings almost always strata of air of the same temperature; and where the change of the sun in its declination causes every year, at the same period, a rupture of equilibrium in the electric intensity, in the cessation of the breezes, and the commencement of the season of rains. The Orinoco, the Rio Magdalena, and the Congo or Zaire, are the only great rivers of the equinoctial region of the globe, which, rising near the equator, have their mouths in a much higher latitude, though still within the tropics. The Nile and the Rio de la Plata direct their course in the opposite hemispheres from the torrid zone toward the temperate.*

As long as, confounding the Rio Paragua of Esmeralda with the Rio Guaviare, the sources of the Orinoco were sought toward the south-west on the eastern bank of the Andes, the risings of

* In Asia, the Ganges, the Burampooter, and the majestic rivers of Indo-China, direct their course toward the equator. The former flow from the temperate to the torrid zone. This circumstance of courses pursuing opposite directions, (toward the equator, and toward the temperate climates), has an influence on the period and the height of the risings, on the nature and variety of the productions on the banks of the rivers, on the less or greater activity of trade, and, we may add, from what we know of the nations of Egypt, Meroë, and India, on the progress of civilization along the valleys of the river.

this river were attributed to a periodical melting of the snows. This reasoning was as far from the truth, as that in which the Nile was formerly supposed to be swelled by the waters of the snows of Abyssinia. The Cordilleras of New Grenada, near which the western tributary streams of the Orinoco, the Guaviare, the Meta, and the Apure, take their rise, enter no more into the limit of perpetual snows, with the sole exception of the Paramos of Chita and Mucuchies, than the Alps of Abyssinia. Snowy mountains are much more rare in the torrid zone than is generally admitted; and the melting of the snows, which is not copious there at any season, does not at all increase at the time of the inundations of the Orinoco.

The sources of this river are found (east of the Esmeralda) in the mountains of Parima, the highest summits of which do not exceed 1200 or 1300 toises in elevation; and from La Grita as far as Neiva (from 7·5° to 3° of latitude) the eastern branch of the Cordillera presents numerous Paramos from 1800 to 1900 toises high,* and only one group of Nevados, that is, of moun-

* From north to south; the Paramos of Porqueras and of Laura (near La Grita); of Cacota; of Almorzadero, Zoraca, Guachaneque, and Chingasa (between Pamplona and Santa Fé de Bogota); La Suma Paz, between Pandi and Neiva. The mean temperature of the mountainous deserts which the Spanish inhabitants of the equinoctial zone call *Paramos*, is 9°. Humboldt sometimes found the centigrade thermometer there at 4°. He saw no snow fall sporadically under the equator below 1860 or 1900 toises of absolute height.

tains which surpass 2400 toises, in the five Picachos of Chita. The three great western tributary streams of the Orinoco rise from the Paramos de Cundinamarca, which are destitute of snow. The secondary tributary streams only, which fall into the Meta and the Apure, receive some *aguas de nieve*, such as the Rio Casanare, which descends from the Nevado de Chita, and the Rio Santo Domingo,* which descends from the Sierra Nevada de Merida, and traverses the province of Varinas.

The cause of the periodical swellings of the Orinoco acts equally on all the rivers that take rise in the torrid zone. After the vernal equinox, the cessation of the breezes announces the season of rains. The increase of the rivers, which may be considered as natural ombrometers, is in proportion to the quantity of water that falls in the different regions. This quantity, in the centre of the forests of the Upper Orinoco and the Rio Negro, appeared to Humboldt to exceed 90 or 100 inches annually. Such of the natives, there-

* The Nevado de Mucuchies, the eastern part of the Sierra Nevada de Merida, gives rise on the south to the Rio de Santo Domingo; and on the north, to the Rio Chama, which runs into the Gulf of Maracaibo. A tributary stream of the first of these rivers, the Paguay, comes from the western part of the Sierra Nevada de Merida. There is, therefore, in the whole circumference of the basin of the Orinoco, no other summit that enters into the region of perpetual snows, but that Sierra Nevada de Merida (lat. 7° 50′), and the Nevado de Chita (lat. 5° 45′).

fore, as have lived beneath the misty sky of the Esmeralda and the Atabapo, know, without the smallest notion of natural philosophy, what Eudoxus and Eratosthenes knew heretofore, that the inundations of the great rivers are owing solely to the equatorial rains.

The following is the usual progress of the oscillations of the Orinoco. Immediately after the vernal equinox (the people say on the 25th of March), the commencement of the rising is perceived. It is at first only an inch in twenty-four hours; sometimes the river again sinks in April; it attains its maximum in July; remains full (at the same level) from the end of July till the 25th of August; and then decreases progressively, but more slowly than it increased. It is at its minimum in January and February. In both worlds, the rivers of the northern torrid zone attain the greatest height nearly at the same period. The Ganges, the Niger, and the Gambia, reach the maximum, like the Orinoco, in the month of August.* The Nile is two months later.†

* Near forty or fifty days after the summer solstice.

† The point (17° 35′) where the Tacazze, or Astaboras, enters the Nile. The Nile receives no river below this, either on the east or on the west; a solitary instance in the hydrographic history of the globe. The distance from the mouth of the Tacazze to the Delta is nearly 1350 nautical miles; so that admitting the mean velocity of the Nile to be four feet in a second, or two miles and a half in the hour, twenty-two days and a half is the time of the descent of a particle of water. This is also nearly the time a swell would take to descend from

The law of the increase and decrease of the Orinoco is more difficult to determine with respect to space, or to the magnitude of the oscillations, than with regard to time, or the period of the maxima or minima. Having been able to measure but imperfectly the risings of the river, Humboldt reports, not without hesitation, estimates that differ much from each other. Foreign pilots admit ninety feet for the ordinary rise in the Lower Orinoco. M. Depons, who has in general collected very accurate notions during his stay at Caracas, fixes it at thirteen fathoms. The heights naturally vary according to the breadth of the bed, and the number of tributary streams which the principal trunk receives. It appears, that the mean rise at Angostura does not exceed twenty-four or twenty-five feet. In this spot, an island, situate in the middle of the river, would furnish the same facility for measuring the increase, as that afforded by the nilometer (megyas) placed at the point of the island of Roudah. The people believe, that every twenty-five years the Orinoco rises three feet higher than common; but the idea of this cycle does not rest on any precise measures.

the sources of the Orinoco to its mouth, through an itinerary length of 1308 nautical miles. The velocity of the Nile in Nubia is no doubt a little greater than estimated in this calculation. The retardation of the oscillations of the Nile is very remarkable, compared with those of other rivers of the tropics. Does this denote a more remote cause of the rising of the waters?

We know by the testimony of antiquity, that the oscillations of the Nile have been sensibly the same with respect to their height and duration for thousands of years; which is a proof well worthy of attention, that the mean state of the humidity and the temperature does not vary in that vast basin.

According to the barometric height of San Fernando de Apure, Humboldt finds, from that town to the Boca de Navios, the slope of the Apure and the Lower Orinoco to be three inches and a quarter to a nautical mile of nine hundred and fifty toises.* The strength of the current therefore depends less on the slope of the bed, than on the accumulation of the higher waters, caused by the abundance of the rains, and the number of tributary streams. European colonists have already been settled for two hundred and fifty years on the banks of the Orinoco; and during this long period of time, according to a tradition which has been propagated from generation to generation, the periodical oscillations of the river (the time of the beginning of the rising, and that when it attains its maximum) have never been retarded more than twelve or fifteen days.

When vessels that draw a good deal of water sail up toward Angostura in the months of January and February, by favour of the sea-breeze and the

* The Apure itself has a slope of thirteen inches to the mile.

tide, they run the risk of taking the ground. The navigable channel often changes its breadth and direction; no buoy, however, has yet been laid down, to indicate any deposite of earth formed in the bed of the river, where the waters have lost their original velocity. There exists on the south of Cape Barima, as well by the river of this name as by the Rio Moroca and several esteres,* a communication with the English colony of Essequibo. Small vessels can penetrate into the interior as far as the Rio Poumaron,† on which are the ancient settlements of Zealand and Middlebourg. Heretofore this communication interested the government of Caracas only on account of the facility it furnished to an illicit trade; but since Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, have fallen into the hands of a more powerful neighbour, it fixes the attention of the Spanish Americans as being connected with the security of their frontiers. Rivers which have a course parallel to the coast, and are no where farther distant from it than five or six nautical miles, characterize the whole of the shore between the Orinoco and the Amazon.

Ten leagues distant from Cape Barima, the great bed of the Orinoco is divided for the first

* Æstuaria, estuaries.

† Near Cape Nassau, Colonel Ynciarte, before he was settled at Angostura, was employed by the Spanish Government to make a survey of the labyrinth of channels (esteros y canos) between the great mouth of the Orinoco and that of the Essequibo. Unfortunately this officer was not furnished with a chronometer..

time into two branches of two thousand toises in breadth. They are known by the Indian names of Zacupana and Imataca. The first, which is the northernmost, communicates on the west of the islands Cangrejos and del Burro with the Bocas Chicas of Lauran,* Nuina, and Mariusas. As the Isla del Burro disappears in the time of great inundations, it is unhappily not suited to fortifications. The southern bank of the Brazo Imataca is cut by a labyrinth of little channels, into which the Rio Imataca and the Rio Aquire† flow. A long series of little granitic hills rises in the fertile savannahs between the Imataca and the Cuyuni: it is a prolongation of the Cordilleras of Parima, which bounding the horizon south of Angostura, forms the celebrated cataracts of the Rio Carony, and approaches the Orinoco like a projecting cape near the little fort of Vieja Guayana. The populous Missions of the Caribbee and Guayana Indians, governed by the Catalonian capuchins, lie near the sources of the Imataca and the Aquire. The easternmost of these Missions are those of Miamu, Cumamu, and Palmar, situate in a hilly country, which extends towards Tupuquen, Santa Maria, and the Villa de Upata. Going up the Rio Aquire, and directing your course across the pastures toward the south, you reach the Mission of Belem de Tumeremo, and thence the confluence

* Cano francès.

† These channels communicate with the Cano de Arecifes, which opens two leagues west of Cape Barima.

of the Curumu with the Rio Cuyuni, where the Spanish post or Destacamento de Cuyuni* was formerly established. We enter into this topographic detail, because the Rio Cuyuni, or Cuduvini, runs parallel to the Orinoco from west to east, through an extent of 2·5° or 3° of longitude,† and furnishes an excellent natural boundary between the territory of Caracas and that of English Guayana.

The two great branches of the Orinoco, the Zacupana and the Imataca, remain separate for fourteen leagues. On going up farther, the waters of the river are found united‡ in a single channel extremely broad. This channel is near eight leagues long: at its western extremity a second bifurcation appears; and as the summit of the Delta is in the northern branch of the bifurcated river, this part of the Orinoco is highly important for the military defence of the country. All the channels§ that terminate in the Bocas

* On the east of the mountains of Kinoroto.

† Including the Rio Juruam, one of the principal branches of the Cuyuni. The Dutch military post is five leagues west of the union of the Cuyuni with the Essequibo, where the former of these rivers receives the Mazuruni.

‡ At this point of union are found two villages of Guaraons. They also bear the names of Imataca and Zacupana.

§ Cano de Manamo Grande, C. de Manamo Chico, C. Pedernales, C. Macareo, C. Cutupiti, C. Macuona, C. Grande de Mariusas, &c. The last three branches form by their union the sinuous channel called the Vuelta del Torno. Though the labyrinth of these small branches appears to be subject to

Chicas, rise from the same point of the trunk of the Orinoco. The branch (Cano Manamo) that separates from it near the village of San Rafael, has no ramification till after a course of three or four leagues; and by placing a small fort above the island of Chaguanes, Angostura might be defended against an enemy that should attempt to penetrate by one of the Bocas Chicas. In Humboldt's time, the station of the gun-boats was east of San Rafael, near the northern bank of the Orinoco. This is the point* which vessels must pass in sailing up toward Angostura by the northern channel, that of San Rafael, which is the broadest but the most shallow.

Six leagues above the point where the Orinoco sends off a branch to the Bocas Chicas, is placed an ancient fort (los Castillos de la Vieja or Antigua Guayana), the first construction of which goes back to the sixteenth century. In this spot the bed of the river is studded with rocky islands;† and it is asserted that its breadth is nearly six hundred and fifty toises. The town is almost destroyed, but the fortifications‡ subsist, and are

frequent changes, it is not less certain that an accurate plan might be taken of the great branches of the Delta of the Orinoco. This labour would no doubt be long; but by rectifying from time to time the soundings marked on it, it would become a great help to the navigation.

* Barancas, near the island of Yaya.

† West of the Islas Iguanas.

‡ Los fuertes de San Francisco de Asis y del Padrasto.

well worthy the attention of the government of Tierra Firme. There is a magnificent view from the battery established on a bluff north-west of the ancient town, which at the period of great inundations is entirely surrounded with water. Pools that communicate with the Orinoco form natural basins, adapted for the reception of vessels that want repairs. It is to be hoped, that, now when peace is restored to those countries, and a narrow policy no longer checks the course of industry, those basins of Vieja Guayana will be surrounded with yards for building vessels. Next to the Amazon, there is no river which, from the forests through which it flows, can furnish more valuable timber for ship-building. This timber, drawn from the great families of the laurineæ, guttiferæ, rutaceæ, and arborescent legumina, affords all the desirable varieties of density, specific gravity, and more or less resinous qualities. All that is wanting in this country is a wood fit for masts, light, elastic, and with parallel fibres, such as is furnished by the coniferæ of the temperate regions, and of the lofty mountains of the tropics.

After having passed the little forts of Vieja Guayana, the bed of the Orinoco again widens. The state of cultivation of the country on the two banks affords a striking contrast. On the north is seen the desert part of the province of Cumana, steppes (llanos) destitute of habitations, and extending beyond the sources of the Rio

Mamo, toward the table-land or mesa of Guanipa. On the south we find three populous villages belonging to the Missions of Carony, namely, San Miguel de Uriala, San Felix, and San Joaquin. The last of these villages, situate on the banks of the Carony immediately below the great Cataract, is considered as the embarcadero of the Catalonian Missions. On navigating more to the east, between the mouth of the Carony and Angostura, the pilot should avoid the rocks of Guarampo, the sand-bank of Mamo, and the Piedra del Rosario. This part of Guayana, from its proximity to the coasts, will some day offer the greatest attraction to European settlers.

Having taken this general survey of the space between the mouth of the river and Angostura, we now recur to the former, and trace the minuter details of its navigation upwards.

As soon as the bar of the river is passed, there are four or five fathoms on the side of the island of Cangrejos, while on that of Barima there is not more than one and a half. The shoals of Cangrejos stretch seven leagues into the sea: Those of Point Barima do not extend more than two leagues.

Near a league from Point Barima there is a river of the same name, which discharges itself into the Orinoco. It is entered by a narrow channel one fathom and a half deep, which runs northwest. On the same south bank of the Orinoco, and two leagues above the river Barima, is seen

the mouth of the river Amaruco, which traverses a large part of the most eastern position of Guayana, occupied by the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins. Sloops may with ease navigate this river for ten or twelve leagues inland. It is to the south of the island and of the Point of Cangrejos, that forms the north side of the Boca de Navios.

Three leagues above the island of Cangrejos, is met the island of Arenas, small, and of a sandy soil. It is covered with twelve or fifteen feet of water in high tides. On its southern part it has a channel, which, from the sand of which it is formed, is rendered very uncertain. We do not ascend half a league, before we find ourselves between the two points which the Spaniards call *Gordas.* That on the north side has a flat which runs out a little, but not enough to inconvenience the navigation.

In running along the south bank of the Orinoco, at eight leagues above Barima, is seen the river Aratura. It has its source on the southern bank of the hills of Imataca, and bounds the savannahs of the Missions. Its mouth is very narrow; but that does not hinder it from being navigable about ten leagues. It communicates by different arms with the Amaruco to the east, and the river Aguira to the west. On its banks are found a great deal of wood for building and cabinet work, and opposite its embouchure some little islands that bear its name. On the side

opposite the Orinoco, that is to say, on the north bank, is the channel which they name the *Cocuina*. It discharges itself into the sea.

At the distance of eleven leagues above Barima is the isle of Pagayos, in the middle of the Orinoco, but rather nearer to its right bank; its soil is a white mud, covered with osiers. It is overflowed by the tides about eleven feet. It is remarked that it was formerly much larger, and that it diminishes sensibly.

No sooner is the island of Pagayos passed, than that of Juncos is met with. It is the most eastern of the chain of the isles of Imataca, which occupy, in the Orinoco, a space of eight leagues. They divide the river into two branches as already described; that on the south being called the branch of the Imataca; that on the north, the branch of Zacupana. They are both navigable; but that on the south, though much wider, has much less water. It is by this last that large vessels at all times of the year pass. Exactitude of description demands, that we should begin to ascend the arm of Imataca as far as the west point of the chain of islands, and that we should then do so by the branch of Zacupana.

The island of Juncos forms, with the point Barima Zanica, which advances on the right bank of the Orinoco, the eastern entrance of the Imataca branch, which is 900 toises wide. At this point Barima Zanica, there separates a channel, called Carapo. It runs inland, and unites itself,

on the back of the hills of Imataca, to the river Aratura.

In ascending a little more, we find the mouth of the river Aguira. It rises in the territory of the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins, and descends by the hills of Imataca. Its waters appear black in the bed of the river, but they are very clear in a glass or other vessel. Its embouchure is very wide. It has a depth of three fathoms at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the Orinoco. Its navigation becomes worse than it was; for heretofore schooners and brigs entered it, at present a vessel larger than a shallop would have much difficulty in navigating it. Very slight preparations would doubtless suffice to render it as navigable as it could ever have been. It wants only that interest should command them; but as it traverses no cultivated country, the utility of its navigation is entirely confined to those who go in quest of the timber on its banks. The trees through which it passes are so lofty, that they render the use of sails impossible. It is navigated only with the tide.

Continuing our route, we see at two leagues from the mouth of the river Aguira, and in the middle of the Orinoco, the little island of Venado, which we leave on our right. It does not furnish matter for observation. We keep, consequently, near the south bank of the Orinoco, to examine, eight leagues above the Aguira, the channel of Caruzina. It issues from the Orinoco, runs by

the backs of the mountains, and thence turns to the south-east, so as to form with a part of the south side of the river, an island in which the Guaraon Indians have established a hamlet. This channel has a good deal of water at its entrance, but the point of the chain of the Imataca hills contracts and obstructs it so much, for half a league, that it is almost useless for navigation. It is subdivided almost to infinity, and by this means it could be of great benefit to agriculture. The country it runs through in various directions, has the advantage of being sufficiently elevated not to fear inundations. A continual verdure is there beheld, an unequivocal symptom of fertility. The Creoles have for the soil which the ramifications of the channel of Caruzina irrigate, a predilection, which has induced them to conceive the project of expelling from it the Guaraon Indians, of founding villages there, and placing batteries for the defence of the Orinoco.

What the south side of the Orinoco offers remarkable, after the channel of Caruzina, is the river Imataca. We repair to it still running along the isles of Imataca, which continue on our north. The mouth of the Imataca is narrow, but deep. It carries from sixteen to eighteen feet of water. Opposite this mouth, the Orinoco has under water a bank, that stretches itself out, and crosses even all the arm of Imataca, excepting a very narrow passage, which requires from the navigator some caution, especially at low

water. The Imataca, six leagues from its embouchure, divides itself into two branches; the first goes to the west, and enters the valleys out of which rises the mountain; the other goes to the savannah, near the Mission of Palomar. Schooners and boats can ascend the river to the very place where it branches off.

From the river Imataca, we have but two leagues to go to arrive at the west point of the Imataca island; that is to say, to traverse the whole branch of that name.

The arm of Zacupana being equally entitled to description, we now redescend the river Orinoco to the point where the two branches reunite, and we shall reascend by going round the isle of Juncos, and leaving it on our left.

From the east point of the isle of Juncos there runs out a flat, which stretches to the north, and leaves for navigation only a very narrow channel; but deep vessels in passing ought to keep close in with the north side.

Within the east point of the island of Juncos is the island of Pericos, which has very lately disappeared. It formed two channels: that on the south was almost choked up by the sands; that on the north, though narrow, afforded a passage, though with considerable difficulty, to vessels. If they did not ground, they often touched. This island, small and sandy, was seen in the tides and rise of the Orinoço. No earthquake, no extraordinary inundation has occasioned its disappearance.

Four leagues above the point where the isle of Pericos was, is seen the island of Hogs, which we leave to the right, because it inclines to the north. The navigable channel is on the south. It has, however, between it and the land, a narrow channel, through which small vessels are able to pass.

A league to the west of the isle of Hogs is seen, on the north bank of the Orinoco, the channel of Laurent, from the embouchure of which runs a flat that occupies half the channel of Zacupana. The channel of Laurent has a mouth that gives it the appearance of a large river; but, at a very little distance to the north, it forms so many narrow straits, and of so little depth, that there is only one through which small vessels can go out to sea. At the entrance of that of Laurent there is a little island of the same name, whence there comes out a flat that runs into the mouth of the Mateo, which intersects the arm of Imataca.

The island of Mosquitos, situate near the south side, is remarkable only because it has, at its two points of east and west, shoals which extend more than a league. In the middle of the river is the channel, half a league wide.

From the mouth of the channel Abacuyo, a shallow extends quite to the isle of Palomes. On the north side, and opposite, are two channels that run to the sea. Another shallow runs from the island of Palomes, and does not stop till it meets the west point of the Imataca islands.

We have only to speak of the isle of Zacupana, in order to have communicated on the channel of that name, ideas similar to those which we have given on the channel of Imataca. At the mouth of the channel of the island of Zacupana commences a shoal that extends itself two leagues west, and often occupies the half of the river. Between this shoal and another that runs from the isle of Palomes, is the channel through which vessels ought to pass, without leaving the centre towards either one or the other bank; for they would run the risk of being stranded.

Here the Orinoco, or, to speak more accurately, that part which discharges itself into the sea by the Boca de Navios, forms only one bed for eight leagues to the west. In this space is seen, on the south bank, the mouth of a lake, at a little distance from the river. It extends quite to the foot of the mountain of Piacoa. We see also, and almost at the same time, from the middle of the Orinoco, the hills of Meri to the south.

We arrive at the chain of islets which divide the channel of Piacoa and the river. It extends twelve leagues from the east to the west; but let us turn our eyes to the north bank, and we shall see the mouth of the Little Paragoan, whence a flat runs which reaches quite to that of the Great Paragoan. The two channels denominated Paragoans unite before arriving at the sea.

Above the Great Paragoan, the arm detaches itself known by the name of the Mouth of Pe-

dernales, which the Orinoco has opened on the side of Trinidad. It forms a variety of channels by which they come from the Orinoco to this island. It branches from the Orinoco one league from the east point of Yaya. There is in this place a shoal that occupies half the river.

We have scarcely ascended a league and a half before we find ourselves off the Red Bogs. It is the first place where, ascending the Orinoco, we see Tierra Firme, and lands secure from inundation. The soil is firm and red. Opposite is a shoal that extends itself along the south side, nearly half a league east and west. The passage for vessels is, in this place, close in with the two banks. It is better on the north than the south; for this last has but little water. In the midst of these bogs is a very narrow channel, named Guaratica, by which, in high tides, or when the river rises, shallops may go to a lake that is very near it. On the borders of this lake are seen bananas and fruit trees, which the Indians formerly cultivated on this spot.

We have to ascend only one league to find on the same north bank the mouth of the channel of Goaroapo. In the summer it has so little water, that shallops can scarcely pass it. Yet there are some years in which it affords enough for sloops and schooners to go there in pursuit of the contraband trade in mules, cattle, and other productions coming from the provinces of Cumana and Venezuela, giving dry goods in ex-

change. After having passed the mouth, all the rest of the channel has a great depth. Large vessels navigate it with facility, but by oars or towing; for the high mountain on the side of which it is situate, renders it impossible to profit by the winds. Two leagues above Goaroapo is the island of Araya: it runs along the north side, and is of a moderate size.

Towards the south side are seen the cascades of Piacoa. They are formed by three or four falls from the middle of the south side of the channel; but there is water enough on the north to afford a passage for large vessels. It is on this side that heretofore were the Missions of Piacoa and the Catalonian Capuchins. One finds here excellent pasture, very fertile lands, good water, regular breezes, and a situation adapted to an agricultural people.

After having perceived the three islets of Aruba, the island of Iguana is seen. It runs along the north side of the river for more than half a league. The bed of the river remains navigable on the south side. On that of the north there are, in the summer, banks of sand that leave a channel with but very little water. In the winter, sloops and schooners pass easily. From the west point of the island of Iguana, we have to go only one league to be off the hill of Naparema. It is only a high rock, and of no great magnitude. All this side, quite to the islands of Iguana and Araya, is full of sand-banks.

The channel of Lemons, which is on the south side, would not, perhaps, deserve to be mentioned, if it had not at its mouth the ruins of a little fort that bears its name. From thence is seen the island of Don Vincente. It has a shoal at the east point, that crosses the channel to a little below the fortress; but in the increase of the river it occasions no inconvenience.

We have now arrived at the place where stood the ancient capital of Guayana, before it was transferred to Angostura. We have now performed fifty leagues of our voyage, and there remains forty to reach San Thomas. In removing the capital forty leagues above, the Spaniards thought it necessary to leave on the site where the ancient city was placed, the forts destined to defend Guayana. They are seen at the foot of a small mountain: one is called San Francis; the other, El Padastro. There are on one side two little lakes, one is named Zeibo, the other Baratillo. Half a league below San Francis is the rivulet Usupamo, which near its mouth has a lake. The port of the military post has on its borders a number of rocks visible in summer, but covered during the winter.

Near half a league above the ancient city, and in the middle of the river, is the great rock Morocoto. It is rather nearer the south than the north side.—This rock is bare in the summer, and covered with water in the winter. Not far from it is the island Mieres, half across the river. On the south side is seen the mountain of that

name; and within its circumference, a little lower, that of Hache. This island forms a channel on each side. That on the north is the best and widest. Three leagues higher is seen, on the south side, the Point of Aramaya, which is nothing more than a projecting rock that makes a breaker in the season of the floods. Opposite this same point commence the three islets of San Miguel. They are all three of stone, with a flat shore of sand. When the river is swollen, these islands are almost covered; nothing but the highest stones are then seen.

On the other side of the river, that is to say, near its left bank, and opposite the village of San Miguel, are seen two islands called Chacaranday, from the name of the wood with which they are covered. They are divided by only a very narrow channel, which is nothing but one shoal.

Let us now view the island of Faxardo, situate in the middle of the river, nearer, however, the right than the left bank, and opposite the mouth of the Carony. It is 3000 toises long, by 1387 wide. It is subject to inundations only on the western side. They think of making this island a military post, supported by a fort that defends the river. As this is a new project, it is difficult to foresee whether it will ever be executed.

The river Carony empties itself into the Orinoco, opposite the island of Faxardo. Its course is direct from south to north. Its waters appear black, because it runs over a fine black sand, but

they are clear and very good. Its visible declination, and beds strewed with rocks, give it a course equally rapid and thundering; but it is, in particular, about a league before reaching the Orinoco, that, its passage being obstructed by rocks, it makes terrible efforts to destroy the obstacles which oppose it. It consequently enters the Orinoco with an impetuosity that it is more easy to conceive than describe. With the force acquired by its body and velocity, it drives a long way back the waters of the Orinoco, with which it does not mingle its own but at more than half a league below its mouth. This phenomenon is so much the easier to be observed, as the limpidity of the Carony distinguishes itself in the ever-troubled waters of the Orinoco.

On the left bank of the Orinoco, and at a league above the isle of Faxardo, is the island of Torno. It is separated from the land by only a little channel: it has on the west point rocks, and a shoal that prolongs itself five leagues above.

The first object which from this point ought to fix the attention of the navigator is Point Cardinal. It is on the south side, three leagues above the island Faxardo. At a quarter of a league nearly from this point there is a chain of rocks that run into the river, half channel over, opposite Guarampo. In winter, but one of the islets formed by these rocks is discovered. In summer, three are seen opposite Guarampo; and, on the south side, there is a port named Patacon, formed by Point Cardinal.

They call Guarampo an assemblage of rocks seen on the north side five leagues above the island of Faxardo. These very rocks form a port on which they bestow their name. From this port comes out a shoal, almost north and south with Point Cardinal. In some places this shoal extends into the channel. On its east point are three rocks that are covered in floods, leaving the principal channel between them and those of the south side. Half a league from Guarampo is found, on the left bank, the island Taguache: it is a league and a half from east to west.

The island of Zeiba is on the opposite side of the river: it is four leagues long, and more than one wide. The channel that separates it from the land has very little water. In summer it is almost dry. When the river rises, these two islands leave in the middle of the stream a channel for large vessels; but at every other period there are a number of sand-banks, and very little depth. Between Tierra Firme on the north, and the island Taguache, there is a channel, navigable at all seasons.

The channel, or the river of Cucazana, occupies here a place, only because at its west point, and near the land, is a shoal which does not stretch much to the west, but occupies half the river. The island of Cucazana is at the mouth of the river of the same name: it is, as it were, united with the island Taguache by a flat, which in summer leaves a number of shelves bare. From

its west point there runs another inclining towards the south. It also in summer shows bare shelves.

The channel of Mamo has, at its mouth, a shoal of but little extent, in the middle of the river; and, at seven leagues below the capital, there is another north and south with the island of Mamo. The channel which the shoal leaves on each side has not, from the month of January to April, more than eight feet of depth.* It is this that obliges the vessels to be lightened. Yet it is but seldom, in spite of this precaution, that they can pass without touching and losing three or four days in getting off. The navigation then has inevitable expenses to support, and risks more dreadful to run. In the floods, these difficulties do not exist. The same thing takes place in another channel that the island of Mamo forms on the west point of Zeiba.

After having surmounted these difficulties, one sees nothing but rocks on the sides and in the stream. The Points of Currucay, on the south side, and three leagues above Port St Anne, are nothing but rocks forming salient angles. In the middle of the river, and almost opposite these Points, is seen a great rock, called the Rock of Rosario: between that and the sides there are a number of others under water in the winter. To the north of the Rock of Rosario is a channel,

* Mr Jones says he found 13 feet in February.

but very narrow, on account of the rocks which stretch themselves out almost close to the bank. Vessels cannot pass in summer without danger of striking on these rocks. In winter the current is very violent; and if by chance the wind dies away in this place, you are menaced with shipwreck against the Rock of Rosario.

The north side then offers to the view, at one league above the Rock of Rosario, a point of rocks. At some distance thence are three reefs near one another, that extend one-third across the stream, north and south with the east point of the island Panapana. One of these reefs is almost north and south with the west point, and runs nearly half over the river: there are two of them covered on their sides.

The island of Panapana is one league above the Point of Rabbits, near the south shore, whence it is separated by a channel of moderate width, but of little depth in summer. At each east and west point there is a shallow, with very little water. That on the west point runs up more than a league, always inclining to the south. Between this island, which is a league and a half long, and the north shore, is the principal channel of the Orinoco, a little narrow, and of little depth when the waters are low. At that time the navigation is by no means convenient; but when the river rises, there is no reason to have any apprehension.

Two leagues higher, we find the narrowest place on the Orinoco, named by the Spaniards

Angosturita. The north and south points, which form this contraction, are rocks. A little above, and almost half across the river, there is an immense stone, called Lavandera, or the Washerwoman. It appears in summer; but the water covers it in the floods. Between it and the south side there is an islet of stones even with the land, opposite which the river Maruanta discharges itself.

Point Tineo, to the north, is also formed by rocks that appear only when the waters are low. Point Nicasio, to the south, is in the same situation, excepting that the stones are not entirely covered.

At length we arrive at San Thomas, the capital of Spanish Guiana, situate at the foot of a small mountain on the right bank of the river. They have built for its defence a fort, placed opposite to the city, and on the left bank. It is surrounded by a number of houses, dependent, like the fort, on the province of Guiana. They call this place Port Rafael: it is here that the passage of communication between Guiana and the provinces of Venezuela and Cumana is. Between Port Rafael and the city is seen the island called Del Medio, or the middle, because it is in the middle of the river. It is a rock which, on its southern part, discovers itself in summer, and is rarely under water in floods. The principal channel is between the city and this island. When the river is low it has 200 feet of water; and on the increase of the river, 50 or 60 more.

This appears to be as much information as is necessary to enable the reader to judge of the difficulties of the navigation of the Orinoco.

Although, in order to profit by the remarks of actual observers, we have described the Orinoco between Angostura and its mouth in the order of its navigation upward; yet, as we began by tracing it from its sources, we shall now conclude by describing the Gulf—that of Paria, into which it falls.

The Gulf of Paria has Tierra Firme on the west and Trinidad on the east. From these two lands, on the north, two points jut out, between which lie two islands, which are, with regard to these two points, pretty nearly east and west, so as to close the Gulf on the north, leaving, however, a sufficient space between them to form four openings, called the Mouths of the Dragon, by which it discharges the superfluous waters. The largest, being two leagues broad, is that on the west, between Point Paria of Tierra Firme and the island of Chacachacares: on the west, it is interspersed with rocks; but as they are all visible, and may be approached without danger, the navigator may easily keep clear of them. This is not the case with a rock which just emerges from the surface, at two cables length from the island of Chacachacares: its approach would be attended with some risk. Between the last island and that of Navios is a second mouth, smaller than the first, called the Vessels. Its channel, lying

from N. to SE. renders it very good for the going out, but very bad for the entrance of ships. The third is formed by the isle of Navios on the west, and that of Monas on the east. It is called the Mouth of Huevos. Its direction is from NNE. to SSE. It is much more convenient to enter than to go out. The fourth is between that island and the point that is most to the WSW. of the island of Trinidad. It is called the Boca de los Monas, without doubt, because it is narrower, and more difficult, on account of a rock in the middle of it, which, from its position, occasions a continual commotion, at the same time that the land of Trinidad, by excluding the winds, preserves a calm, which is but rarely interrupted by momentary gusts. The passage for small craft lies between the island of Trinidad and the rock.

This Gulf is twenty-five leagues from east to west, and fifteen from north to south. There is anchorage in all that extent; but its depth varies from eight to thirty fathoms. Upon the coast of Paria its soundings are much less. In fact, this Gulf is a real port, which, for excellence and extent, vies with the handsomest in the world. It has a muddy bottom, except near the coast of Tierra Firme, where there are shoals and banks of sand.

The Gulf receives, on the SSW. a considerable volume of water by different mouths of the Orinoco, which enters it with a velocity that very

much incommodes the vessels which steer that way upon their passage. There is some reason to believe, that a part of those waters of the Orinoco have, in the progress of ages, detached from Tierra Firme what is at present called Trinidad, and that their ravages will not cease till they have opened the Mouths of the Dragon, and thrown themselves into the ocean. Indeed, the currents are always carried to the sea by the channels of these Mouths. It is, therefore, impossible to enter, particularly by the small ones, unless highly favoured by the winds.

It is at least as difficult to enter the Gulf on the south as it is on the north. The wind must be from the south-east, to be able to enter with any certain prospect of safety. Then they must coast it to the south of the island of Trinidad, as far as Point Hicacos, which they must approach within two cables' length, in order to pass between that point and a shoal which is in the middle of the channel, formed by the small island of Soldado and the same point. After advancing two-thirds of a league to the north, they may approach within one league of the coast to the west of Trinidad, till they come to anchorage in the Port of Spain; for there is mooring there to the distance of two leagues from the coast, with water from five to eighteen fathoms deep.

There are several ports and roads along the coast of Paria, which greatly facilitate the communication with Trinidad. That advantage is at

present exclusively in favour of the English, who are the possessors of that island.

The tide is not only perceptible, but even formidable in the Gulf of Paria, where it discovers a violence not to be conceived by those who are not well acquainted with the great ebbings and flowings of the sea.

SECTION III.

COMMODITIES SUITED TO THE COLOMBIAN MARKET.

Not more than a third of the cargoes which formerly arrived from the mother-country, particularly those which were exported from Cadiz, where three-fourths of the expeditions for Tierra Firme were formed, were made up of national merchandise; and most frequently they did not contain more than a fourth. The rest was formed of foreign manufactures, which the Cadiz trade drew from different parts of Europe, and which were naturalized by means of duties. France yielded to this stock nearly one half; England, nearly a fourth; and the Hanse towns the surplus, excepting some gauzes furnished by Italy.

Generally speaking, calicoes were not esteemed by the Creoles. Nor would they have adopted the use of them during the last war, had it not been for the low price at which they were obtain-

ed from the English colonies. Pieces of worked muslin, which used to fetch from thirty-five to forty dollars, were sold during the war as low as from twelve to fourteen: and every thing else of the kind was in proportion. The taste for these commodities has now become permanent.

The Creoles have always given a preference to German and Silesian piece-goods, from these being of linen; but now they get habituated to wear cotton, which bids fair to supply the privation of the former articles, by the substitution of English goods. Ticklenburgs and checks form the clothing of Negroes and common people; and Britannias, estopillas, creas á la Morlaix, platillas, and such like, that of the better sort. The imitations of these goods in quality, shape, marks, and packing, now adopted in the Scottish and English manufactures, answer very well. They are still capable of being brought to a more perfect resemblance, which would give them a great additional value.

Very fine linens, diamonds and jewellery, sell better, and in greater quantities, at Mexico, Peru, and Havanna, than they do any where else. At Tierra Firme false diamonds have a sale proportionably greater than the true. Jewellery does not fetch its value there, because the Spanish goldsmiths work in gold and silver at a cheaper rate than the foreign ones. The workmanship, it is true, is very inferior, but the appearance is nearly the same, and the lowness of the price

atones for every defect. What still more contributes to render jewellery an unsaleable commodity among the Spanish Americans, is the idea they entertain that a pale yellow colour is the only proof of the purity of the gold. Whatever the touchstone may shew, the prejudice rests the same. The goldsmith who proves the gold, always rates that which is heightened in colour at 4 or 5 carats below his pennyweights of pure. They imagine that the difference of colour between the European and American gold is owing to the alloy which the former contains. It is, however, to be observed, that their jewellery in gold never rises above eighteen or nineteen carats, and that for their workmanship in silver they use only dollars, the standard of which is much below the silver used by our silversmiths.

Laces form also a part of the Creole dress. Those of Flanders used to obtain the preference; but since the great improvements which have rendered English lace so superior to all other, that of England is preferred. These laces should be handsome, since, destined to form that part of dress which most attracts attention, it is proper that their beauty should announce the opulence which every one, according to his estate, would display. Their sale, however, is not very great, because the use of them is limited to principal personages, and to days of ceremony. The women wear little lace; but to make up for it, they ornament their veils and their church-going petti-

coats, with black blond lace from fifteen to twenty inches wide. Narrow blond is used by those who cannot purchase the broad. In this article, there is a luxury highly profitable to commerce.

All black stuffs are in great use among the Creoles, principally serges, prunellas, satins, and taffeties. The cassocks and mantles of the priests are always of one or other of these four articles, as well as five-sixths of the petticoats used by the women in their devotional exercises.

Within the last ten years, the use of thick cloths has become general at Caracas and its dependencies. There are few whites who are not dressed in cassimere.

Hats have also considerable sale among the Creoles. All civilians, and among them persons of the first class, wear round hats. Military officers wear cocked hats. The priests content themselves with giving to hats with low crowns and wide brims, a turn which makes them resemble a tile.

The young Creoles have lately acquired a taste for boots, and they have become the ordinary wear: they are bought ready made from the English possessions. The quality of the leather, and the fashion, which the shoemakers of the country cannot imitate, keep up their price, and exempt them from competition. The case is not the same, however, with shoes. It is necessary that those which arrive from abroad should be in excellent condition; nor do they command a very

high price, because shoes are made on the spot at a very moderate price, and sufficiently good.

As it is only by shewing what has been the trade of those individual ports of which we have authentic information, that it becomes possible for us to judge of the value and extent of trade with Spanish America, and the mode in which it is carried on, we insert the following statements.

The following are the particulars of the amount and value, which were furnished by each European nation which supplied Spain with various goods sent out annually (in time of peace) to her settlements and colonies in Mexico. The greatest part of these were shipped at, and sent from, the port of Cadiz to the port of La Vera Cruz, which is distant 201 miles from the city of Mexico.

Proportion of each nation. Millions of Spanish hard dollars.			Pounds English money.
15	The manufactures and products—	of France,	L.3,375,000
8	do.	of England,	1,800,000
4	do.	of Spain,	900,000
3	do.	of Italy,	675,000
3	do.	of Germany,	675,000
3	do.	of Flanders,	675,000
2	do.	of Holland,	450,000
2	do.	of Swisserland,	450,000
40	Millions of Spanish hard dollars, at four and sixpence English each, make		L.9,000,000

France supplied Spain with the following kinds of goods for Mexico, as well as for her other settlements and colonies in America:—

Jewellery of all descriptions, made in Paris, of the most superb and shewy kinds;—gold watches, and ornaments for them, as chains, seals, keys, rings, &c. sold at very low prices, and in quality very inferior to those of England, but yet preferred both in Old Spain and in Spanish America, because they were shewy as well as very cheap;—gold and silver plate for the churches, and for private families;—gold and silver laces, for which the demand is immense;—French white and black laces, for the ladies, and likewise for church ornaments;—silk goods of all descriptions, silk velvets, &c. manufactured at Lyons, &c. in immense demand for the churches as well as for the dresses both of ladies and gentlemen;—millinery goods made in Paris;—superfine French woollen cloths, formerly excelling in blacks and blues, as well as in high colours, such as scarlets, roses, crimsons, &c.;—hats both white and black, manufactured in Paris, particularly calculated, by lightness, &c. both for Old Spain and Spanish America;—white linens, called in Spain Bretañas legitimos, the consumption of which is considerable both in Old Spain and in Spanish America;—cambrics, consumed in great quantities by the church, by ladies and by gentlemen. All these French goods and manufactures were in immense demand in all the Spanish American settlements, and wonderful quantities of them were constantly sent out (in time of peace), which gave to France a decided superiority over England, in the value of

goods sold and supplied to Spain by these two great rival nations. This estimate, however, is more conformable to the old system of things than the present one, but will evince the precedents the French have for their estimation of this trade, which the energy of the English merchant has now more than rivalled.

The trade to Asia by the South Sea from Acapulco was estimated at ten millions of dollars, which were sent to purchase muslins, printed goods, silks, spices, and perfumes; and through this channel Mexico and other provinces were supplied. Since the late years of war, however, necessity has driven them to use European goods for ornamental apparel: these circulated by the way of Vera Cruz, whither they were sent from the United States and English Islands. Nor will it be difficult to retain this consumption in a direct channel, now that these countries are independent, if our manufacturers will but attend to the taste of the Creoles in that country, and our shippers of goods be more discriminate in their assortments. The supplying of this quarter might also be made an interesting branch to the trade of the East India Company.

Selection of a Cargo suited, on a general scale, for the Spanish Settlements in America, being the description of goods, proportions, &c. intended to assist the British Trader in his Assortments.

Superfine Woollen Broad Cloths.

100 *Pieces Cloth, to be packed in ten bales, viz.*

4 Pieces Mazarine Blue.
1 Green.
1 Black.
1 Brown, dark colour.
1 White, being regimental colour.
1 Red.
1 Purple.
—
10 Pieces in each bale.

Kerseymeres, 150 *Pieces, viz.*

4 Blue.
2 White.
2 Red.
1 Bottle-Green.
1 Brown.
1 Purple.
4 Fancy colours; say, Fawns and Chocolates, &c.
—
15 Pieces in each bale.

Ladies' thin Woollen Cloths, 80 *Pieces, viz.*

4 Blue.
2 White.
1 Red.
1 Black.
1 Purple.
1 Bottle-Green.
—
10 Pieces in each bale.

Yorkshire Woollen Cloths, 80 *Pieces.*

4 Blue.
2 Maroon.
1 Scarlet.
1 Purple.
1 White.
1 Bottle-Green.
—
10 Pieces in each bale.

Truco, or Billiard Cloths.

10 Pieces Green, second quality, packed in two bales.

Blankets.

6 Bales, cheap, different sizes assorted in each bale.

Buntings, to make Spanish Flags.

100 Pieces Yellow, } in bales, 20 Pieces each.
50 Red, }

Hats.

10 Cases, to contain 40 round Hats each, in all 400 hats,—good quality,—some silks,—quarter white, and green underneath,—dark linings, or such as best hide perspiration—prices, from 8s. to 22s.—A few hats, white and black, suited to friars, that is, with a large brim, and small crown.

2 Cases Hats, ornamented for officers in the style of chapeaux bras, but large,—none for women,—bands and buckles must accompany each hat; and it must be dressed and preserved in shape to use on opening. No Negro hats. This article being the greatest luxury the Spaniards have, they prefer them good.

Bed Ticks.

4 Cases, and Blue the prevailing colour.

Linens, Scotch and Irish.

All as White as possible, for the Spanish American requires the commodity to flatter and please the eye more than the touch or feel, but at the same time seeks it cheap, viz.

10 Bales Osnaburgs.
5 ditto Ticklenburgs.
6 Cases Platillas, white.
2 ditto ditto, brown.
4 ditto Caserillos, or White Rolls.
10 ditto Estopillas.
10 ditto Britannias.
4 Cases Ravensburgs.
2 ditto Sheeting, folded as Russia.
4 ditto Linens, folded and marked as Creas a la Morlaix.

N. B.—The more they imitate German goods the better, as to the latter a strong preference is given.

Sail Cloth, 100 *Pieces.*

1 No. 1.
1 No. 2.
2 No. 3.
2 No. 4.
2 No. 5.
2 No. 6.
—
10 Pieces in each bale. Cheapest quality.

Sail and Sieve Twine.

300 pounds weight in three bales.

Irish White Linens, 200 *Pieces.*
(Bounty on Exportation.)

4 Pieces,	at 12d.	per yard.
4 ditto,	at 15d.	ditto.
4 ditto,	at 18d.	ditto.
4 ditto,	at 21d.	ditto.
4 ditto,	at 2s.	ditto.

—
20 pieces in each trunk.

N. B.—Shewy, high glazed, and good colour.

Checks, 250 *Pieces, Linen and Cotton.*

100 Pieces Linen Checks three quarters, good blues and clear whites, hot calendered, high glazed, small stripe. A Bounty is had on Exportation.

150 ditto Cotton Checks, folded as much as possible to imitate Linen Checks, and in the German style. No Plaid patterns.

—
250 Pieces, packed 25 in each bale.

Handkerchiefs, 400 *Dozen*.

200 dozen blue and white, blue ground, white cross-bar, and to measure 35 to 40 inches square.
100 dozen fancy red, purple, and white cross-barred.
100 dozen fancy colours.

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400 dozen, 25 in each bale.

N. B.—These handkerchiefs being intended for poor people to wear on the head, must be cheap.

Printed Calicoes, 1000 *Pieces*, 28 *yards each*.

600 Pieces low priced, say, from 16d. to 22d. per yard, glaring colours and grounds, neat sprigs. More depends on the colours and shew, than on the fineness of the cloth; if they only consist of two colours, let them be gaudy and lively.
200 Pieces, from 20d. to 24d. chintz furniture patterns, sprigged, shewy, and tawdry.
200 Pieces ell wide, from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per yard, length 21 yards; all most shewy possible, to imitate the prints done by Portales in Neufchatel, Switzerland, or East India calicoes.

1000 Pieces, packed in trunks 25 pieces each; one-half divided into pieces of 7 yards each, and folded in the book fashion.

Glasgow White Muslins.

Lappet, tamboured, and spotted, 500 pieces, each to contain 10 yards, thinnest grounds, thickly worked and sprigged, newest and most shewy patterns, but the cheapest rates.
50 Pieces also worked in gold, flowered, &c.
200 Ladies' dresses, bottoms worked in colours, gay, &c.
100 Dozen white muslin Handkerchiefs.
100 Pieces book muslin, good quality.
100 Pieces for mosquito nets and curtains, clear and cheap.

White Dutch Rope, 100 *Pieces, viz.*

10 Pieces at 15d. per yard.
5 ditto, at 18d. ditto.
5 ditto, at 21d. ditto.
5 ditto, at 2s. ditto.
—
25 Pieces in each trunk.

Ginghams, 300 *Pieces, viz.*

10 Pieces at 14d. per yard.
5 ditto, at 16d. ditto.
5 ditto, at 18d. ditto.
5 ditto, at 21d. ditto.
—
25 Pieces in each trunk; colours to be lively, light, shewy, such as pinks, roses, crimsons, yellows, &c.

Lancashire White Muslinets.

(Variety of small patterns.)

60 Pieces packed in trunks, 20 in each, but low priced.

Jeannets, 40 *Pieces.*

20 Pieces in each trunk, dyed of lively colours.

White Shirting Calicoes, 200 *Pieces.*

4 Pieces, 12d. per yard.
4 ditto, 15d. ditto.
4 ditto, 18d. ditto.
4 ditto, 21d. ditto.
4 ditto, 2s. ditto.
—
20 Pieces in each trunk.

Cotton Estopillas.

500 Pieces, folded and packed to imitate German.

Small Cotton Platillas, 600 *Pieces.*

Being cotton shirting cut into small pieces, 7 yards each, and then folded and papered, to imitate, in miniature, German platillas.

Mock Madras Handkerchiefs, 400 *Dozen.*

To imitate, as much as possible, the real lively colours, shewy, &c.; 25 dozen in each trunk.

Table-Cloths of Cotton.

Two trunks with Table-cloths, and Napkins to match, with red and blue wide borders. The table-cloths not largest sizes.

Pullicat and Romal Handkerchiefs, 200 *Dozen.*

Shewy and gaudy, from 36s. to 50s. per dozen; each trunk to contain 25 pieces.

Mantillas or Shawls for Veils.

500 Sprigged, worked, shewy and handsome, of muslin.
200 White laced Veils, fashionable and large.
50 Black.

This article is made in Nottingham of cotton knot, worked broad borders, and variety of patterns.

Velverets.

All Half Ell wide, none Half Yards, 100 *Pieces.*

2 Black.
4 Blue.
1 Yellow.
1 Purple.
1 Rose.
1 Sky blue.

—

10 Pieces in each trunk, from 2s. 3d. to 3s. 6d. per yard.

Corduroys.

4 Blue.
2 Black.
4 Fawns and fancy colours.
—
10 Pieces in each trunk.

White Cotton Tapes.

L.100 value in an assortment, but broad sizes avoided.

Blue Cottons, 400 Pieces.

To imitate East India, well dyed, second and inferior cloths, and packed in bales, 25 pieces in each. This is a great wear of the Indians and common people.

White Cotton Thread.

L.50 value assorted, some in small boxes.

White Flax Thread.

L.50 assorted.

White Corded Dimities, 100 Pieces, Yard Wide.

10 at 15d. per yard.
5 at 18d. ditto.
5 at 21d. ditto.
5 at 2s. ditto.
—
25 in each trunk.

Light Silks for Ladies' Dresses, 100 Pieces.

8 Pieces full black, for Ladies.
5 ditto ditto, wear for clergymen, and strong.
2 ditto ditto, blue, for ladies.
2 ditto ditto, rose.
2 ditto ditto, white.
1 ditto ditto, crimson for parasols.

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20 Pieces in each trunk.
20 Pieces assorted, figured and spotted silks, strong for ladies' shoes.

Black and White Bombazeens.

200 Pieces black, for ladies' church dresses and secular clergy, good quality. The upper street-petticoat of the ladies is of this article.
50 Pieces good whites, intended for friars of the order of Mercenarians, &c.

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250 Pieces packed in trunks, 25 pieces in each.

Sewing Silks.

L.50 value in common assortments.

Silk Ribbons.

4000 Pieces assorted, lively, gay, and shewy.
500 ditto hair ribbon.

4500 Pieces; also 1 case assorted velvet ribbons, and shoe-binding.

Silk Stockings.

500 Pairs for men, new fashions, not high priced.
200 ditto for women, with clocks, &c. and shewy.

White Cotton Stockings, sandalled, &c.

1000 Pairs open clocks, some others plain and assorted.

Gloves.

100 Dozen, low priced, and shewy colours, some for military.

Military Ornaments.

200 Gold Epaulettes for Officers.
200 Silver ditto.
100 Sword-knots, half gold, and half silver.
Small quantity silver and gold galoon, thread, and spangles.
200 Military Swords, and small dirks with sheaths and belts complete.
200 Plumes various colours, long and straight, such as the French use.

Earthenware, 60 Crates, viz.
Some plain white, and some blue assorted.

20 Dozen flat Plates,
5 ditto Soup ditto,
4 Soup Tureens,
4 dozen Chambers,
2 ditto Jugs and Mugs,
And a small assortment of dishes, not large sizes,
} in each crate.

Earthenware Cups, Saucers, &c.

200 Gill Bowls.
100 Sets Coffee Cups and Saucers, largest sizes.
100 ditto Tea ditto, that will serve for Chocolate also, of largest sizes.

N. B.—The Seller allows per centage for breakage; other articles than the above, are useless.

Glass Ware.

30 Cases all Pint Tumblers, cheap kind.
2 ditto Goblets, better quality.
1 Case Wines, shewy, but not richly cut.
1 ditto Fruit-Dishes, &c. not richly worked.
1 ditto Decanters, shewy and cheap.

N. B.—If the cargo is intended for Vera Cruz, 40 boxes good window glass may be added as used in Mexico, &c.

Looking-Glasses.

L.200 value laid out in Looking-glasses for rooms, some good.
L.50, in shaving common ditto, assorted sizes.

Hand-Whips.

50 Dozen long Hand-whips, not lashes.
100 Dozen plated Spurs, leathers complete.

Stationary.

L.200 in value in good writing and letter paper, and if it can be had, to imitate Barcelona, a paper for smoking, some blank account and memorandum-books, quills, sealing-wax, and wafers in tin boxes. Some English and Spanish Grammars and Dictionaries.

Two Trunks Spanish playing Cards.

Hammocks.

400 Hammocks cotton, shewy and ornamented, such as the Indians use, and well imitated by Messrs Philips of Manchester, packed in bales.

Silk Umbrellas, 300.

10 Umbrellas, large sizes, crimson.
4 ditto green.
2 ditto sky-blue.
2 ditto yellow.

—

20 Umbrellas in each case.

Silk Parasols for Ladies, 300.

10 Crimson, shewy, fringed, well plated.
2 Green.
4 Sky-blue.
4 Assorted shewy colours.

—

20 in each case.

N. B.—This article cannot be too stylish, and well ornamented, from being much used.

Toys.

6 Cases assorted, little Images, Dolls, &c.

Lead Shot.

25 Kegs No. 3.
25 ditto No. 4.
25 ditto No. 5.
25 ditto No. 6.

—

100 Kegs, but no other numbers.

Gunpowder.

50 Kegs good quality, and some glazed in tins for private shooting.

A small assortment of English Fowling-pieces and Pistols, more shewy and ornamented than highly finished.

Tin Plates, 100 *Boxes.*

Plated Candlesticks.

20 Dozen assorted, shewy, and such as in England are now considered old-fashioned.

Pewter Table Spoons.

20 Gross Pewter Table Spoons.
2 ditto Tea Spoons.

Spying Glasses.

50 good ones, in cases each.

Clothes' Brushes.

12 dozens assorted sizes.
4 ditto Hair Brushes.

Fishing Tackle.

L.50 in assorted Fishing-hooks.

Needles and Pins.

L.50 in good Needles, in tin boxes.
L.20 in Pins.

Tin Canteens for Soldiers.

L.50 value, packed in tierces.

East India Goods.

4 bales Nicanees, blue colours.
2 ditto blue Baftas.
4 ditto white.
6 ditto Nankeens, blue, white, and yellow.

N. B.—If these goods cannot be had cheap, they are better excluded, as they are cheaply supplied from the United States.

Nails.

10 Kegs of Tacks.
50 ditto half-inch flat Nails.
50 ditto inch flat ditto.
50 ditto inch and a half ditto.
50 ditto two inches ditto.
10 ditto three inches ditto.

For the credit of the English manufacturer, Cast Nails ought not to be sent. The Spaniards are accustomed to be supplied from Liege in Germany, by way of France and Holland, and will purchase only the beaten ones.

Sad Irons.

500 Pairs, packed in wrappers to avoid rust.

Iron Saucepans.

L.50 value. This article is not much in use, from the Spaniards cooking chiefly in earthen pipkins of their own manufacture, which they call *ollas.*

Iron Pots.

L.100 in assorted sizes.

Chafing Dishes.

L.20 in chafing dishes to burn charcoal.

Iron Hoes.

L.200 in Iron Hoes, without handles, for field work, not heavy, but with good eyes.

Brass-headed Tacks for Trunks.

50 Gross.

Manchettes, 6000.

They are large long Sword-blades, nearly in the shape of the hangers used in common on board a ship; the Spaniards use them for cutting in the woods, cutting the sugar-cane, and many other purposes. They have been accustomed to be supplied with this article from Germany, and the most esteemed are those called *Del Perrillo*, from having a small dog in a running posture stamped upon them, or a large half-moon and stars, which are the marks of a particular manufacture, and give them additional value. The handle ought to be long, and straight as a butcher's knife, with two pieces of ornamented horn riveted on each side, and like the handle of the Algerine *atargan*, or sword.

Butchers' Knives, 2000.

All white bone, well riveted handles, and black sheath of leather, low priced.

Scissars.

100 Dozens, low priced, and only a few high priced.

Boots.

100 Pairs Long and Half-boots, shewy, but not high; feet not too large, nor thick soles.

Razors, 100 *Dozen.*

Principally low priced, some of a superior quality, in cases, but a small proportion.

Sailors' Knives, 200 Dozen.

Large sizes, low priced, and, if they can be had, some of the long-bladed Knives, such as are used by the Spanish and French sailors.

200 Dozen assorted Pocket-knives, some with several blades, and good quality.

100 Dozen of Pen-knives, assorted, of all prices.

Table-Knives.

100 Dozen Table-knives, and Three-pronged Forks, good quality.

100 ditto Table-knives, without Forks.

10 ditto Silver eating Forks.

5 ditto Dessert ditto.

Combs for the Hair.

100 Dozen Small-tooth Combs, assorted.

Buttons.

L.500 value in Birmingham Buttons, shewy, viz. a few yellow and white plain, oval raised buttons, gilt and plated, some anchor buttons for the navy, and artillery buttons.

Snuff-Boxes.

L.200 in value, Metal and Imitation Snuff-boxes, heads on them, portraits and fancy; if possible a likeness of Ferdinand, the motto above, also round it; also some naval heroes, and the King of England.

Copper Sheathing, and Copper Bolts.

A quantity sufficient for six schooners.

Sugar Plantations.

Materials sufficient to erect works for Ten Plantations, but not so large as those used in Jamaica. Cuba is in great want of them.

Files.

100 Dozen assorted Files, Hand-saw, Triangular, &c.

Copper Stills.

Ten Stills of various sizes, say complete.

2 of	60	gallons each.
2 of	70	ditto.
2 of	80	ditto.
2 of	90	ditto.
2 of	100	ditto.

10 Stills, Copper.

Tools.

L.200 value in assorted joiner's, ship and house carpenter's Tools; cooper's, smith's, &c.; also for watchmakers, silversmiths, &c.

Padlocks.

2000 Padlocks, single, a few double, assorted.

Crucibles.

2 Tierces assorted Crucibles for silversmiths.

Oils.

Oils suited for canvass painters; almond oil is also much used by the Spaniards, and comes in tin canisters; also essential oils and scents.

Cloves and Cinnamon are good articles, if bought low, and not undersold from the United States.

Small assortment of Leaf-gold, Copperas, Alum, Grindstones, Coffee-mills, Buckles, &c. for saddlery, kegs of Flints, &c.

Musical Instruments.

10 Piano-Fortes.
6 Large good Organs for a room, lively tunes.
A few Flutes, Fifes, and Violins, and Spanish Guitars, Harps, &c.

Medicines.

An assortment, excluding those the country affords, and to consist of Cream of Tartar, Rhubarb, Senna, Manna, Glauber Salts, Cantharides, Opium, Nitre, Ipecacuanha, Calomel, Mercury, Precipitate, &c. Drugs must not be in their raw state, but ready for use, powdered, &c. as these operations are tedious in a hot country, and require apparatus.

Jewellery.

L.400 value in Ear-rings, Necklaces, Bracelets, Rings for fingers, Broaches, Crosses, Sleeve-buttons, Breast-buckles, Bandeaus, and ornaments for ladies' heads, Lockets, Gold Pins, &c. set with shewy stones, &c. Chains, &c. All must be of jeweller's gold, nothing of copper,—as they judge of the article, when not manufactured by themselves, by the smell; and others would tarnish too much from the heat of the climate.

Some Cheeses, Pickles, Porter, Cider, good Vinegar, Soap, Fish Sauces, Hams, &c. would sell, but must be well packed.

Though the above is calculated on a large scale, it may be reduced to suit the convenience of the shipper, and consumption of the market to which the cargo is destined.

REMARKS.

All Piece-goods, in whatever kinds or description of package, ought to be accompanied with bale cards, in order to avoid opening the same, and ought to correspond perfectly. It will be advisable to sell by the package, as the shopkeepers would cull your goods, and leave many of little or no value, or, at least, choose the most saleable.

All trunks, cases, and packages, ought to be good; the trunks sell for their original value, and are more handy than cases; all fine goods ought to be packed in them; each matted and well covered, marked in plain letters, and numbered in two places, to avoid the trouble of lifting, and mistakes in shipping, landing, &c. and delivering to the purchaser.

It is to be observed, that goods intended for the Spanish market, in their respective kinds, are required to be light, shewy, thin, and low priced, and on a different principle of strength, and good wear, to those which are intended for sale and consumption in Great Britain. They require the article to be dressy, not to last long; *cheap and pretty* is their corresponding proverb.

Remarks on Weights and Measures.

100 English yards make 108 Spanish varas.

100 English ells make 140 Spanish varas.

97 Spanish pounds are equal to 100 English pounds.

The Spanish measure, called fanega, is equal to nearly three bushels, or 150 pounds in weight.

Eight arrobas of wine make 25 gallons.

One arroba contains 25 Spanish pounds.

One Spanish vara contains 33 inches.

Flemish ells multiply by 80, and divide by 100, to make Spanish varas.

One Flemish ell contains 27 inches.

All piece-goods measured, are sold by the Spanish vara.

One quintal contains 100 Spanish pounds.

Four arrobas make one quintal.

Spanish invoices are made out in reales de vellon; for example, two pieces blue cloth, 40¾ varas à 80 rs. vn. = rs. vn. 3260. 0.

In drawing bills, a Spanish usance is sixty days.

Rials of plate are, however, more general in America; and eight form the value of a dollar, or 12½ cents each.

SECTION IV.

STATE OF THE TRADE.—IMPORT DUTIES, &c.

The following documents throw light on this subject.

A highly respectable meeting of merchants, ship-owners, and manufacturers, being held in the city of London, to take into consideration the means of establishing a beneficial intercourse between the United Kingdom and countries in South America, which were formerly under the dominion of Spain, certain resolutions were unanimously entered into, expressive of the opinion of the meeting;—That the peculiar nature of the wants and productions of the countries in question must, in their present independent situation, open a vast field for commercial enterprise of the most

valuable description, provided this country should meet, in a corresponding way, the desire, so earnestly and sincerely manifested on the other side, for a mutually beneficial intercourse:—That it is expedient to effect a removal of all impediments to this desirable state of things, it appearing, by the declaration of Mr Zea, the envoy from the Colombian States, to be the determination of those Governments to admit into their ports the ships and merchandise only of those nations who recognize and admit the flags and products of their respective countries:—That proceedings are now pending in the Legislature of the United States, which will entitle the vessels of that country to decided advantages, little short of a monopoly of the trade, until this and other countries, by similar measures, shall become entitled to share in it:—And that a memorial be presented to the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, respectfully urging the importance of the immediate consideration of the means of establishing a commercial intercourse between this kingdom and the countries of the said Governments in South America.

The following Memorial was then agreed to, embodying the substance of the resolutions, and submitting to the consideration of their Lordships, whether, in perfect consistency with the spirit of the navigation laws, the letter of them may not be so far relaxed, as to admit vessels belonging to the several newly established countries

in South America, to trade, as such, at the several ports of this kingdom, in the same manner as the ships of the United States and Brazil.

To the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

THE humble Memorial of the undersigned Merchants, Ship-Owners, Manufacturers, and Traders of London;

Sheweth,—That since the establishment of Independent Governments in the countries of South America, which were formerly under the dominion of Spain, an extensive trade has been carried on with them from this country, either directly, or through the medium of other places:

That this valuable trade, which, with due encouragement and protection, may become of much greater importance, has been interrupted, and (according to the declaration of Mr Zea, the minister deputed to the Powers of Europe by the Government of Colombia) is likely to be lost, or subject to serious disadvantage, unless timely measures be taken by his Majesty's Government to place the commercial intercourse between the United Kingdom and those countries, upon such a footing as will be conformable to those regulations which they appear to have adopted as the rule of their government in that respect:

That the principle of those regulations appears to be, to admit into their ports the ships and merchandise of nations which recognize and admit the flags and merchandise of their respective countries:

That your memorialists therefore beg to submit, for the consideration of your Lordships, whether, in perfect consistency with the spirit of the navigation laws, the letter of them may not be so far relaxed, as to admit vessels belonging to the several newly established countries in South America, to trade, as such, at the several ports of this kingdom, in the same manner as ships of the United States and Brazil:

That unless the ships of those countries be admitted to a participation in that advantage, your memorialists are appre-

hensive that foreign countries, especially the United States, (whose regulations are governed by the rule adopted by the said newly established Governments), availing themselves of the opportunity which any hesitation on the part of this nation might afford, will secure to themselves most important advantages, at the expense of the shipping, commercial, and manufacturing interests of this kingdom:

Your memorialists therefore entreat, that the subject may engage your Lordships' attention, and that such measures may be timely adopted to secure the advantages of a direct and extensive commercial intercourse with the United Kingdom, which are offered in the change of the government of the countries before-mentioned, as to your Lordships shall seem meet and expedient, for extending and improving the commerce of this empire.—And your memorialists will ever pray.

London, April 23. 1822.

Baring, Brothers and Co.
Richards, Macintosh, Law and Co.
Bazett, Farquhar, Crawford and Co.
Reid, Irving and Co.
Findlay, Bannatyne and Co.
Campbell, Bowden and Co.
Smith, Inglis and Co.
Paxton, Cockerell, Traill and Co.
W. and T. Raikes and Co.
Fletcher, Alexander and Co.
Bainbridges and Brown.
Palmer, Wilson and Co.
Frederick Huth and Co.
G. W. and S. Hibbert.
Jos. Marryat and Son.
Hullett, Brothers and Co.
Richard Jaffray.
R. and B. Brown and Co.
Dickson, Pizey and Co.
G. J. and G. Ranking.
Barclay, Brothers and Co.
Anthony Gibbs and Son.
G. and J. Brown.
Buckless, Bagster, and Co.
Wilson and Blanshard.
John Jacob.

Copy of a Note from Messrs Cock and Willoughby to the different Firms which subscribed the Memorial to the Privy Council.

Gentlemen,—We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Lords of the Council have decided favourably on the application for admitting to entry in this country the ships of the

Independent Governments established in the Spanish part of South America, conformable to the petition presented to their Lordships on the 23d instant. We have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

(Signed) COOK & WILLOUGHBY.

33. *New Broad Street, 27th April* 1822.

The following communications, moreover, took place between the Board of Admiralty and a merchant of London. We trust the acquiescence in this application is an omen of a disposition to extend protection to the trade with the Spanish Main.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

MY LORDS,—The petition of the undersigned British merchant humbly represents to your Lordships,—

That the manufacturing interest of these realms was, within a very few years past, in an alarming state of depression:

That this depression arose from a want of demand from neighbouring countries, which now manufacture their own goods, and many of which are making efforts to become exporters of the articles which they formerly received from us:

That the manufacturers have been relieved from the apprehensions which were lately so appalling, only by an unexpected and increased demand arising mainly from a new trade with the Independent States of South America, and with our possessions in the East Indies:

That the profits of the manufacturers are now very small, calculating the current prices of goods in England:

That low prices are necessary to the continuance of their present prosperity, successfully to compete with foreign produce, and to induce a growing consumption in new countries:

That every thing which tends to prevent the free egress of manufactures, to remove confidence in the security of enterprise, or to increase the expenses of shipments, must operate to render more distant that period of prosperity, which will serve to increase demand, and which manufacturers look forward to in the New World:

That the exports of manufactures to Jamaica and the West Indian Islands have of late years been important:

That the goods so exported were chiefly sold to the Mainland:

That the idea of a regular and established commerce direct to the Mainland, enabling manufacturers and merchants to avoid the expenses of intermediate ports, prevents shipments to Jamaica:

That the shipments to the Mainland are prevented by insecurity for our ships, arising from the extensive depredations committed by the pirates in the Western Seas:

That besides the spoliation of property, the atrocious barbarities committed on unarmed and helpless individuals, are so *frightful* as to create alarm, and to prevent men from undertaking the voyage:

That if it be possible for men, calculating the profits of enterprise, to be excited by humanity, repugnance must be felt at being instrumental in exposing men to such barbarity, rapaciousness, and even death:

That the assurers demand ten guineas for a risk to the Mainland, which, under ordinary circumstances, ought to be done from two to three guineas per cent:

That it is even difficult to ensure at this enormous premium;

That although shippers may be induced, in a limited degree, to submit to such a burden, they do not feel that undertakings which are made with so much risk, and so much doubt as to their arriving at their destination, can fairly be considered as operations resting on such security as merchants ought to look for:

That the protection given by America to her commerce with the New World, ensures to her subjects a precedence in markets which we shall lose; and the efforts to suppress a race of marauders, formidable as a power in a state of warfare, will ensure to them advantages which are still within our reach:

That a continuance of the difficulties which now exist, must tend to make the ships of other nations the carriers to Colombia, and injure in some degree our shipping interest:

Your petitioner humbly adds, that he is strongly interested in the commerce to the Mainland;

That he has already chartered one ship, the Mary, for Maracaibo, and another for the same destination is about to proceed; and although in his humble capacity as an individual he claims little at your Lordships' hands, yet, as speaking for the interests of a large community, he would humbly hope that your Lordships will take into your serious consideration, the best means to give security to a trade which promises to become a source of wealth to our country, and to give animation to that spirit of industry, which has made England what she is, and which is, in truth, the basis of her glory and pre-eminence:

Your petitioner does not presume to know what steps may have been taken to alleviate these complaints, but British merchants repose a confidence in his Majesty's Government, that no measure will be neglected which can increase the nation's prosperity, or justify that confidence: but your petitioner would humbly beg, that publicity might be given to every measure which, consistently with the nation's welfare, could be made known, tending to remove the difficulties which your petitioner humbly, but imperfectly sets forth, and to alleviate the fears so commonly entertained. He would presume to suggest to your Lordships, that much good would be done for securing the trade with Colombia, by appointing a station for convoy from an island to the windward, such as Barbadoes or St Vincent: Curaçoa would be still better, if the measure be not inconsistent with the policy or view of the Dutch Government. This seems so necessary, that he would implore your Lordships to reflect on it, and to give to it efficiency withou

delay, if, in your Lordships' judgment, you should deem it expedient:

Your petitioner is aware, that convoys are granted at Jamaica; but he would humbly state, that this station answers well for the ports of Santa Martha, Carthagena, and the ports in the Gulf of Mexico, but it is too much to leeward to answer the purposes for vessels bound to the important ports of Laguira and Maracaibo:

Your petitioner would desire likewise humbly to represent, that from the comparatively little direct intercourse which has existed with Colombia and the Mainland, the assurers have many doubts as to the knowledge of navigators of the coast, and it is highly desirable that your Lordships should take such steps on this subject as your Lordships may deem fit: and your petitioner in thus presuming to address your Lordships, begs leave to express his confidence, that although he does so as an humble individual, there would exist no difficulty in obtaining to the sense of his petition a multiplicity of signatures: he relies not the less on your Lordships' judgment and operative measures, and he would humbly beg your Lordships would give him such an early notification of what your Lordships may think fit to do, as will relieve him from the difficulties he is under in effecting insurances on the cargo which is about to sail. (Signed) * * *

Admiralty Office, September 12. 1822.

Sir,—Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the memorial addressed by you to their Lordships on the 10th instant, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you, that they have directed the commanding officer of his Majesty's ships at Barbadoes, to afford such protection to the trade from thence to Maracaibo as may be in his power. I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

(Signed) John Barrow.

To Mr * * *

The following are the import duties of Colombia:—

GENERAL CONGRESS OF COLOMBIA.

Law on the Duties of Importation to be paid in the Ports of Colombia.

The General Congress of Colombia, considering,

1. That the Republic being single and undivided, the duties on imports should be uniform in the different ports appropriated for importation in Colombia;

2. That this uniformity being calculated to contribute very powerfully to the encouragement of commerce, external and internal, by facilitating the operation of the custom-houses, and preventing the commission of fraud, and the depreciation of the revenue, which has occasioned the confusion and inequality hitherto experienced, it has been thought fit to decree, and is hereby decreed,—

Art. 1. All the duties of entry formerly recognized under various denominations, are henceforth consolidated in one, under the name of duty of importation.

2. Fifteen per cent shall be paid on the importation of bar-iron, plate, tin, and copper; also paper of every kind: all sorts of medicines, and instruments of surgery; tackle, pitch, tar, cables, cordage, and anchors;

3. Seventeen and a half per cent shall be paid by every kind of cotton merchandise, woollen, linen, hemp-seed, and yarn,—that excepted on which a heavier duty is imposed by subsequent articles;

4. Twenty per cent shall be paid on beaver, woollen, or silk hats; wax or spermaceti, either manufactured or in paste; wine, vinegar, and acid of every kind; gold and silver watches, lace, riding saddles; every kind of earthenware of Europe and Asia, and glass and crystal of every kind;

5. Twenty-two and a half per cent, on every kind of silk of Europe or Asia, precious stones, jewels, thread, and silk lace, point handkerchiefs, artificial flowers, feathers, looking-glasses, perfumes, essences, and scented waters; spiceries, from India or elsewhere, dried fruits, or the expressed juices, capers, &c.;

6. Twenty-five per cent shall be paid on shoes for men or women, and boots; every kind of household furniture; utensils in copper, bronze, iron, steel, and tin; tallow in the lump or manufactured; flour; salted meat, and every kind of foreign eatables;

7. Thirty-five per cent shall be paid on spirits and other foreign liquors from the grape, the sugar-cane, or any other material;

8. The other kinds of merchandise, liquors, and commercial articles, not specifically included in the preceding articles, shall pay twenty per cent on importation;

9. The above mentioned duties on importation shall be deducted from the value fixed by the tariff approved at Carthagena on April 22. 1817, and its supplements, until the necessary alterations be made;

10. The rate of duties imposed by the preceding articles, shall be applicable solely to the cargoes of national vessels;

11. The merchandise imported by the vessels of neutral or friendly states, shall pay five per cent over and above the preceding duties, unless it be otherwise stipulated by particular treaties of commerce;

12. An abatement of seven and a half per cent shall be allowed on the cargoes of national vessels, and five per cent on those of foreign vessels, provided they proceed directly from European ports to Colombia;

13. This abatement shall be made with reference to the per-centage duties payable by merchandise and articles of trade, according to the preceding articles, from article 2d to 8th;

14. All decrees, regulations, and laws, in opposition to the present, are revoked and annulled.

15. This law shall begin to operate from the 1st of January 1822.

Sept. 25. 1822. (Signed by the President of the Congress.)

Ordered to be executed,

Sept. 26. 1822. J. M. DEL CASTILLO,
Vice-President of the Republic.

ubsequent decree excepts from the above
, books in every language, maps, charts,
ophical apparatus, paintings, sculptures, en-
gs, implements of agriculture, and all in-
ents useful in navigation, or in any of the
d sciences.

SECTION V.

SALES, &c.

E commodities are deposited in the ware-
of the factors, where the retail merchants
examine them. We must not omit to
the singular circumstance, that these ware-
s have seldom any door opening on the
, except indeed those of Caracas and Angos-
They are generally in the interior of the
, and frequently it is necessary to knock
door to have it opened. Whatever may
ne by the laws, the national opinion still
s the consideration to commerce which it
every-where else. The Creoles are still
averse to it than the Europeans.

e Catalans, who form the greatest and richest
of traders, are active, enterprising, and at-
l to each other. When a cargo comes in,
ps twenty are concerned in its purchase.
try every means to beat down the seller,

and form very hard bargains in a peculiar way. Being the principal capitalists, and dreading little competition, one of them on the first day of sale, in the name of the body who unite to purchase, offers the prices agreed upon by the whole. If refused, the next day another will go and offer less: a third will offer still lower. The supercargo is perfectly puzzled by their not making an advance in price, and he frequently closes below the first offer which was made. They then keep up the price of their returns, knowing the vessel must be dispatched.

Every transaction is conducted with secrecy and mystery; and they never assemble at an exchange, or in any other way, to treat collectively of affairs. Their stores have even a dirty and irregular appearance; and in their persons and manners they little resemble men of business and property. Their probity and solidity, however, in fulfilling their engagements, when once made, may be relied on. By dint of economy, they often amass great wealth, and do the meanest offices of their own drudgery.

The commodities are sold to retailers at four or six months' credit; but the payment, although promised to be entire, is generally done in part only, and new terms are often entered into to lengthen the credit to years. It is evident, that if the vessel were obliged to wait the collecting of the payment for its cargo, in order to reload its returns, it would consume the proceeds in ex-

penses, or would occasion enormous losses to the shipper.

To prosecute this trade with some success, therefore, it is necessary to have funds already provided in America, so as to be able, at the moment of the vessel's arrival, to commence the purchase of produce, which is rarely found collected in sufficient quantities to complete a cargo in a few days. It is with the money arising from previous cargoes, that the factor is enabled to load and expedite the departure of the fresh vessels that arrive.

It is estimated, that the mass of the current money in the province of Caracas is not more than three millions of dollars, of which the fourth is in small clipped coin, which they call *macuquina*. Its form, which would debar it the honour of a coin, and also its weight, retains it in the country, because it cannot be taken away without sinking a third of its value. A bag of this money, which represents the value of 1000 dollars, does not actually weigh more than 700; but as it has a currency which nobody disputes, the exchange for dollars is made with great facility, and without premium.

Commercial disputes in Spanish America were not subject to the common process of the law, but were carried before a board of commerce, called *El Consulado*, whose process was short, definitive, and promptly enforced. In vending a cargo, if the purchaser was debited *To sales per*

such a vessel, and not in the name of the merchant who vended, the debt was easier collected, as a delay beyond the time agreed upon made him liable for any detention in the returns of the vessel,—a considerable check where the regularity of bonds was not adopted. The rules by which commercial transactions were guided were *las ordenanzas de Bilbao*,—as complete a digest of mercantile law and usage as any nation would wish to have, as it comprehended a remedy for every distress which misfortune or fraud might bring on the trader. It was drawn up by the most learned and experienced body of merchants the nation ever had. Those of Biscay had the greatest share in its formation, from whom it took its name, and who have always been the most famed. In this work, they particularly had in view the counteraction of abuses, likely to originate in the extension of that good faith, which forms the basis of all trade on a large scale.

SECTION VI.

RETAIL TRADE.

THE retail trade in dry goods is in the hands of Canarians, and a few other Creoles. The usual profits of the retail dealer are from twenty-five to thirty per cent. From this it would ap-

pear, that there are few trades by which fortunes might be more rapidly acquired; and indeed this would be true, if all the dealers could secure much custom. But the kind of life induced by this business, being of that sedentary description which accords with the Spanish temper, the shops multiply to such a degree, and the sale and profits become so divided, that there does not remain to each retailer more than sufficient to support his family and maintain it with decency. Hence it happens, that this class, which everywhere else soon rises to the rank of merchants, remains in its original state among the Creoles, and that failures are oftener seen among them than fortunes.

It requires no very deep knowledge of commerce to discover, that these shops could not be furnished, were it not for the credit which the merchants are obliged to give. It rarely happens that a retail dealer pays for what he purchases on delivery: on the contrary, the expiration of the time of credit often finds him unprepared. On a little extension of credit, however, he generally satisfies every demand; for it is observed, that this class are distinguished above most others for their honesty.

There are also in Tierra Firme a species of shops, known under the name of *bodegas*, and others under that of *pulperias*. Their commodities consist of china-ware, pottery, glass, hardware, tools, wines, sugar, hams, dried fruits, cheese,

taffia, &c. They have an advantage over the other shops, in not being obliged to remain closed on festival days and Sundays. In consequence of their great convenience, they are allowed to remain open from day-break until nine in the evening. This trade is almost exclusively in the hands of active and economical unmarried Catalonians and Canarians; and as it consists in frail and perishable articles, it is liable to damages which must be covered by the profits of its sales: there is not, therefore, an article sold at less than a hundred per cent profit, and some often double and treble that amount. It is in this traffic that the beginnings of fortunes are much more frequently laid than in any other business.

The manufactures of Colombia are of utility chiefly in its internal trade, and consist principally of carpets, cotton cloths, blankets, woollens, counterpanes, &c.

SECTION VII.

RECIPROCAL PROVINCIAL TRADE.

THE commerce which the provinces of Caracas carry on with the others is of very little importance. From Barcelona to Havannah, in the island of Cuba, they carry meat, salt and dried: it is prepared at Barcelona, where it costs a little

: than twenty-five francs the quintal, and sells
[avannah at sixty and seventy francs. Re-
; are made in sugar, wax, and silver. From
ıcaibo they send cacao, &c.; from Coro,
:d sheep-skins, and cheese of the country;
Porto Cavello, mules, when they do not
ct to make more of them at Jamaica; from
rra, cacao, sarsaparilla, &c. Neither Cuma-
Margarita, nor Guiana, have any commercial
ons with the island of Cuba. All that these
nces send to Porto Rico, or receive thence,
nsported by a small schooner, which passes
month from Porto Rico to Guayra. All
trade, together with that carried on with
, amounts to a hundred thousand dollars
ally.

me time since, Guayra had commercial in-
urse with Vera Cruz, which was highly ad-
ıgeous to Tierra Firme. It had formed there
v market for its cacao, which contributed
little to sustain the price of this produce.
763 it exported to Vera Cruz 16,804 quin-
This exportation has continued during
al years, but at present is almost extinct.
ıracaibo carried on a greater trade there
all the rest of Tierra Firme: the cargoes
composed of cacao, balsam of Copahu, &c.
ırought back in return glass-ware, made at
co, beads for rosaries, sacks for baling,
stuffs, which arrive there by Acapulco, and
ment in gold or silver.

SECTION VIII.

PURCHASES OF PRODUCE, &c.

In no town of Tierra Firme, not even at Caracas, have the merchants any place of meeting, like our exchanges, to treat of commercial affairs: every one labours in the silence and solitude of his counting-house. Barter or exchange is entirely unknown among them. No paper is to be seen there in circulation; for they are strangers to the custom of discount. All commercial transactions are conducted directly and privately between the seller and the purchaser. Neither have they any price-current. These towns are rather factories than places of trade.

The purchase of produce is not made at Tierra Firme, as elsewhere, in large quantities. The city of Caracas is the grand mart of the province; but its situation, in the midst of mountains, not permitting any other conveyance than on the backs of mules, the productions arrive but in small quantities, which are carried about the city to be sold to the best bidder, generally below its real value. The planters have no travelling agents and factors to carry out their productions on sale. The planter has sometimes no ties of interest, and still less of intimacy, with the merchant. The wants of the cultivator often occasion a momentary intercourse; he offers to de-

liver the merchant in a stipulated time a certain quantity of produce, at a specific price, which must be paid in advance. He thus mortgages his crop below the market-price. Good faith sometimes presides at these bargains, and effects a happy conclusion. But often, also, the authority of the tribunal is claimed, to enforce the execution of agreements; and Depons is inclined to question whether the merchant be not always the demandant. The complaints generally turn on the negligence of the planter, the bad quality of the produce, or its adulteration. It is evident, that such transactions tend rather to occasion distrust between the merchant and the planter than harmony, and that this misunderstanding is one of the greatest obstacles which the public prosperity can encounter.

The commercial productions of Tierra Firme (as has been observed in a preceding chapter) are of a superior quality to those of the colonies, excepting the cotton, the inferiority of which ought rather to be attributed to the fault of its preparation than to that of the soil.

The cacao of Caracas, after that of Soconusco, obtains in trade the preference over that of other parts of America. When the cacao of Caracas is at 50 dollars a quintal at Cadiz, that of the Magdalena is at 44, that of Guayaquil at 32, and that of Marañon at 25. The cacao sells by the fanega, or sack of 110 pounds Spanish weight, which is within a trifle of 100 pounds French.

The indigo of Caracas is only eight per cent in value below that of Guatimala; but the least encouragement would soon double the amount produced on the whole Main. No other known species of indigo has, within twenty-five or thirty per cent, the value of the indigo of Caracas. It is distinguished in trade into *flor*, or first quality, *sobresaliente*, or ordinary, and *corte*, or inferior. When the first is at 12 reals the pound, the second is at 10, and the third at 8.

It is impossible yet to ascertain what rank commerce will assign to the coffee of Tierra Firme, because it has not been exported in sufficient quantities to obtain a particular place in the prices-current. But the form of the grain, and its flavour, which cannot be disputed, announce that one day or other, and that not far distant, the coffee of Tierra Firme will attain to the same consideration which its cacao has for a long time enjoyed.

The sugar evinces the unskilfulness and ignorance of its manufacture, but does credit to the soil which produces it.

In the month of July 1804, cacao was at Caracas 160 francs the quintal.—(Its ordinary price is from 100 to 110 francs.)

Indigo, flor, the pound, 68 francs.—The sobresaliente and corte in proportion.

Coffee, the quintal, 130 francs.—(There was but little in the market.)

Cotton, the quintal, 60 to 80 francs.

To the price of produce purchased at Caracas must always be added the conveyance to Guayra, which is done on mules, and costs 5 francs the load of four arrobas, or two quintals.

The tobacco, being hitherto in the monopoly of the crown, whose prices were not so encouraging as if there had been a competition in trade, was not carried for that reason to any great extent of cultivation. Good authorities, however, quote the value of what was grown on the Main annually, at the government prices, to extend to three millions of dollars*; and the Dutch, who have always been considered as the best judges of this article, give it a double estimation to that grown in North America, and place it next to that of Cuba.

The following is the decree of Congress respecting the monopoly of this article:—

The General Congress of Colombia, considering,—

1. That, under existing circumstances, it is not possible, without serious injury to the public revenue, to discontinue the farming of tobacco;

2. That it is, nevertheless, indispensably necessary to give a gradual impulse and encouragement to this important branch of our agriculture, until it can be left entirely free, and be exported to foreign countries for the account of individuals;

3. That in the mean time it is for the interest of the Republic, not only to avail itself of the advantage to be derived from the farms, but also to find a vent for any surplus which may remain after having fully provided for the home consumption;

Have come to the resolution, and do decree as follows:—

Art. 1. The farming of tobacco shall continue throughout the whole of the Republic under the regulations hitherto observed,

subject to the provisional alterations of the Government, which shall be laid before the Congress at their next meeting, for approval or correction;

Art. 2. After the public farms shall have been supplied with the quantity necessary for home consumption, the surplus shall be transferred from the factories to the nearest port of the Republic, in order for its sale by wholesale for exportation to foreign ports;

Art. 3. The purchasers of tobacco for exportation shall give the necessary security to the officers of the respective department, that the same shall be exported to foreign ports within sixty days, reckoning from the date of contract; which period may be prolonged on paying for the privilege of warehousing;

Art. 4. The sale of tobacco for exportation at the Colombian ports shall always be made under the permission of the officer of the department, and by public auction, unless the Government destines the said tobacco for the payment of pending debts contracted for, or services rendered to the Republic;

Art. 5. The tobacco sold for exportation cannot be cleared from the public warehouses until the purchaser declares himself ready to export the same to foreign ports;

Art. 6. This clearance must be verified by order, and after the inspection of the administrators of the department, and of the respective custom-house officers, and in the presence of the "Guarda-mayores" or "Capitanes de Puerto," without the exaction of any fee whatever;

Art. 7. The proceeds of the sale of the tobacco for exportation shall enter into the chest of the department, and shall be disposed of in the manner settled for this article;

Art. 8. The Government is fully authorized to establish, in addition to the existing ones, other new factories for tobacco, provided that it be in places whence the tobacco may be easily transferred to the commercial ports, in order to its being exported to foreign ports in the form required;

Art. 9. The Executive Power is also authorized to suppress any of the existing factories, whenever they may find that the local situation renders the same expedient;

Art. 10. For the support of these factories, the Government may take (under condition of repayment) from any other department of the public revenue, such sums as may be necessary; and, in failure of this resource, it may negociate loans and borrow, mortgaging the proceeds of the said factories for the payment of the principal and interest; which interest may be as high as six per cent;

Art. 11. The Executive Power shall take care to lay every year before the Congress, a report of the factories of tobacco established in the territory of the Republic, distinguishing the quantity of tobacco consumed at home from that exported to foreign ports, in order that the Congress may decree the total extinction of the said factories, and the free exportation of tobacco, whenever it shall appear from sufficient documents that the same can be done without prejudice to the objects to which this department is at present assigned;

Art. 12. The Executive Power shall give the necessary orders for preventing fraud and peculation in the factories and administrations of tobacco.

Let the Executive Power be apprised of the present, in order to the carrying of the same into effect.

Given in the Palace of the General Congress of Colombia, at Rosario de Cúcuta, on the 27th September 1821, 11th year of Independence.—The President of the Congress, Jose Y. de Marquer.—The Deputy-secretary, Francisco Soto.—The Deputy-secretary, Antonio José Caro. Palace of the Government at Rosario de Cúcuta, 29th September 1821: Executed, Jose Maria del Castillo, for his Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic.—The Minister, P. Gual.

A True Copy. The Secretary of the Treasury.

The sheeps' wool of Spanish America, which has been neglected in a strange way for want of encouragement, might become one of their most valuable exports. They manufacture, indeed, a few coarse blankets, called *mantas* and *fresadas*,

but there are no depots to collect, prepare, and pack it in its raw state, to any quantity.

Even deer-skins, which might be collected, are in a great measure unnoticed.—There are, besides, a variety of other resources, which want only encouragement to make them staple articles.—In fine, the productions of these regions generally seem the best suited to the wants of a manufacturing country, and most invite its trade.

We now append to this section on the purchase of produce, some account of the Fair—that of Xalapa in Mexico, where the greatest purchases are made.

The goods intended for the Fair of Xalapa, the greatest in all Spanish America, are sent up from La Vera Cruz on the backs of mules, asses, &c.

It continues open for the sale of goods exactly six months. It is opened and proclaimed with grand public processions and other solemnities, at which immense numbers of people assist, attended by all the clergy, religious orders, &c. with bands of music, guards of soldiers, &c. On this occasion, the factors and others who have goods for sale, are very liberal in their donations to the churches, in hopes thereby to ensure good luck, quick sales, and large profits. These processions are repeated on the day after the Fair has been closed, and the factors attend the churches, in order to return thanks to the Almighty for their respective successes, when they present such further gifts to the churches as are most agreeable to themselves.

By the laws, no sales, even of the most trifling articles, are permitted to be made until the Fair has been proclaimed, and the processions are completed; nor can any more or further sales be made after a proclamation of the close of the Fair has been made by the second display of the public processions and other ceremonies, as before exhibited. These being completed, all goods and other articles whatever, which may then remain in the factor's hands unsold and undisposed of, are immediately locked up in the warehouses, under the management and care of the officers who are appointed for that express purpose, where they must remain untouched until the next or succeeding Fair has been proclaimed and opened, when they are again delivered up safe and in good condition to their respective owners, to be again offered for sale.

If the commodities be such as please, attract, and suit the purchasers, the profits made thereby are frequently prodigious—frequently from three to six hundred per cent. If they do not please the buyers, it becomes extremely difficult to dispose of them at any price. In the last month that this Fair is kept open, the factors become very anxious and pressing to make sales on the best terms they can procure; of which disposition the purchasers naturally take every benefit and advantage.

The sales at this Fair are in general made for immediate payments, which consist of coined

dollars, gold and silver in ingots, bars, wedges, &c. and products of the country, such as indigo, cochineal, Jesuit's bark, &c. It very rarely happens, that any credits are given with the goods sold at this Fair, on account of the very great risks which the sellers would run in trusting strangers who purchase, many of them residing from five hundred to two thousand miles from Xalapa.

This great Fair, like those of Frankfort, Leipsic, Brunswick, and Nuremberg, was suspended in consequence of the war, but is expected to be revived.

The indigo brought from Guatimala to this Fair consists of four different qualities, all of them excellent; but the finest is superior to any other brought to Europe.

Cochineal of Mexico, without which neither purple nor scarlet colours can be produced, is found genuine in no other part of the world. Its natural history, and the process of breeding and preparing it, is described in a former chapter.

Quinquina, or Jesuit's bark, also brought to this Fair, is a drug of the most salutary virtues, found only in Peru, to which it affords a most lucrative branch of commerce, and is of the highest value in a climate where the corporeal system is so much debilitated.

As all these goods, from a want of inland navigation, are carried, for the supply of the Fairs, and the great consumption of the country, on

mules, and the heads of Indians, the packages ought to be assorted and made up in the lightest way possible, and not to exceed 100 lbs. The Indian carries and travels quickly with that weight on his head, and its doubled proportion serves to load a mule, as a package on each side is put in a kind of arganas, or pannier, and makes a perfect equipoise. Small bales are therefore preferable to cases; but cards ought to accompany each. The wrapper for fine goods, as those from the East Indies, ought to have oiled or waxed linings to keep out the damp.

SECTION IX.

EXPORT DUTIES, FREIGHT, INSURANCE, &C.

THE duty on the exportation of cacao is 10 per cent.

Previous to the meeting of the General Congress in Cúcuta last year, coffee paid also an export duty of 10 per cent, but it was taken off by a decree of Congress, to encourage its production. In Venezuela it was generally apprehended, in June last, that the Intendant would, from the great and continued expense arising from the prolonged siege of Puerto Cabello, be compelled to reimpose it for the present. If it should be so, however, its restoration will, in all probability, be only of short duration.

The exportation of sugar from Venezuela is prohibited for the present.

We are tolerably certain that the duties upon indigo, tobacco, and hides, are also 10 per cent on exportation.

They are all *ad valorem* duties.

Freight was carried so high during the last war, as of itself to arrest the trade of the mother-country with its colonies. Cacao, the sole production which was sent to Spain, paid 12 dollars per quintal, of which three were paid in advance. All the other articles were in proportion.

In time of peace, the freight of cacao has been three dollars per fanega of 110 lbs. Spanish.

The waste which the cacao experiences during the voyage is charged to the account of the captain. To cover this, they remit him three per cent, that is to say, of 110 lbs. which he has received, he is only bound to deliver 107. Often, however, the waste exceeds the three per cent allowed, and the captain is obliged to complete the 110 lbs. at his own expense. This loss is rated at one and a half per cent. This condition is intended to secure the care and vigilance of the captain.

Freight from England to the Spanish Main is rated at about one per cent more than to the corresponding West India Islands.

Export duty on mules, 15 doll.
on cattle, 8 —

The exportation of cattle is now prohibited.

Cadiz had a Chamber of Insurance, subject to regulations approved by the king: it was dissolved by the enormous losses which it sustained at the commencement of the war with England in 1796. Afterwards, the insurances were made in partial policies of sums more or less important, which particular capitalists insured on particular vessels: the shipper thus chose his insurers, and prosecuted them separately in case of dispute. This mode was, on the whole, more advantageous than the establishment of chambers of insurance. The ordinary premium of Cadiz for the Gulf of Mexico was from two and a half to three per cent in times of peace, and according to the season.

Insurances to the Main are very commonly effected at St Thomas, where there is now a regularly chartered company of underwriters. They were effected in May and June last at five per cent, including all risks. Insurance cannot now be done in England for less than double that sum, in consequence of the recent piracies.

SECTION X.

AMOUNT OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

The settlement of the Dutch at Curaçoa, in 1634, first roused the inhabitants of Caracas to exert their minds in agricultural pursuits. Cacao

and hides were soon exported in sufficient quantities to answer the purposes of carrying on an exchange trade with the Dutch for such articles of European produce as were necessary to the colonists. This trade became so brisk, that the mother-country thought it time to interfere: edicts were issued to suppress it; and two vessels were freighted from Spain with merchandise for the colony, for which enormous duties were charged. The Dutch accordingly commenced a contraband trade, and so greatly undersold the Spanish merchants, that they were left until 1700 in quiet possession of the traffic.

From 1700 to 1730, the merchants of Spain endeavoured to revive their speculations; but the activity of the Hollanders was so great, that they were undersold in every article. At this period, the annual produce of the Caracas in cacao alone was 65,000 quintals (of 1600 ounces to each quintal). The exports through the royal customhouses amounted to 21,000; so that the Dutch received the remaining 44,000 quintals in their smuggling vessels. The court of Madrid viewing this decrease of its revenues, and resolving to put a stop to the intercourse of foreigners by forcible methods, confiscations of property, and fines and punishments were inflicted on every person discovered engaging in commerce with the Dutch.

Notwithstanding these measures, the contraband trade still continued, and the means taken not being found to answer the proposed end, it

at last suggested, that a Company should be ted to monopolize the whole export and im- trade of the captain-generalship. This was rdingly done; and such was the vigilance of nembers of this Company, that the unlawful was soon destroyed, and they succeeded by constant supplies, and by purchasing every le which could be turned to account, in giv- complete satisfaction to the colonists. Im- se warehouses were constructed at the diffe- ports, and advances of money without inte- were made to the cultivators. Flourishing ges arose in every direction, and the land was erted from immense marshes and forests to ng plantations. In 1735, only 65,000 quin- of cacao were exported, whilst in 1763, the unt of this article increased to 110,650 quin- Cattle multiplied rapidly in the vast plains e south, and hides were added to the other cts of the export trade. From this time, the es paid at the various custom-houses were so t, that Caracas was no longer supplied with ttances from Mexico, to defray the expenses s government.

ut with all these advantages, which lasted a short time, the Directors of the Company med powers foreign to the intentions under h their grant was conferred: they became upt; and such was the state of the trade from abuses they daily committed, that in 1778 court of Madrid opened the ports of Vene- a and Spain reciprocally to each other. New

regulations were adopted, and the trade of the colony gradually increased till 1796, when it experienced a check from the operations of the maritime warfare so vigorously carried on by Great Britain at that period.

The following are the exportations made in the four years from 1793 to 1796, compared with those of the four following years.

Exportations from 1793 to 1796.

			Dollars.	
367,819	q. cacao,	at 18 dollars, -	6,620,742	
2,955,963	lb. indigo,	at 12 reals, -	5,172,937	
1,498,332	lb. cotton,	at 20 reals, -	299,666	
1,325,584	lb. coffee,	at 12 dolls. the q.	159,070	
				12,252,415

Exportations from 1796 to 1800.

			Dollars.	
239,162	q. cacao,	at 18 dolls. -	4,304,916	
793,210	lb. indigo,	at 14 reals, -	1,386,117	
2,834,254	lb. cotton,	at 20 dolls. -	566,850	
1,536,967	lb. coffee,	at 12 dolls. the q.	184,435	
				6,442,318
			Diminution,—dollars,	5,810,097

On this decrease Depons makes the following observations: "It is easier to charge this decrease to the war, than to agree that it is partly the consequence of a bad administration. In admitting that this cause has some weight, it is unjust and ridiculous to be satisfied with a reason which can operate but in a trifling degree. War

has no influence except on the price of produce: it cannot injure the productions, otherwise than by depriving agriculture of the hands which it requires, and this has not taken place in these provinces, excepting with a few hundred free men of colour, whom the defence of the country has retained in detachments in the sea-ports. This circumstance could never have occasioned an annual diminution in the quantity of produce to the amount of 100,000 dollars. Neither could the war alter the value of productions: they have borne the same price in the four unfavourable years as in the four preceding; and the indigo, in one of the former, was at 14 reals a pound instead of 12.—This equality of price during the eight years in question, is the best proof that there have always been purchasers, and that commerce has always received and paid for what the cultivator has been able to deliver, cacao only excepted. It is not, therefore, in war merely, that we must seek for the cause of the languor into which the provinces of Caracas have fallen. It cannot be ascribed to any scourge, to any calamity, such as plagues, epidemics, droughts, or extraordinary inundations. Providence has guaranteed Tierra Firme from such misfortunes. We must, therefore, impute it to injurious local dispositions."

According to the information obtained by M. Lavaysse from official statements in Venezuela, during the year 1807, the value of the agricultu-

ral produce exported from these provinces, from 1794 until 1806, amounted to about four millions of dollars annually. According, however, to the documents taken from the custom-houses of Port-Spain in Trinidad, and from those of the islands Grenada, Tobago, Curaçoa, San Thomas, and Martinico, which carried on the contraband trade with the provinces of Venezuela, the smugglers must have carried off annually, on an average, more than 2,500,000 dollars in produce; consisting of cacao, cotton, indigo, a little cochineal, anotto, woods for dyeing and cabinet-makers, copper, hides, maize, salted and smoked meat and fish, oxen, horses, mules, asses, monkeys, parrots, &c., and about 6 or 700,000 dollars in specie, and since 1801, a small quantity of sugar and coffee. There were annually exported from these provinces to Spain and Mexico, about 2,000,000 dollars in colonial produce. This increases the exportations to about 5,200,000 dollars.

The estimates of produce shipped, in the year 1801, in vessels furnished with English passes from Puerto Cabello, which had generally 100 small ones employed in that way, are as follows; but the amount of cash sent to procure goods, and the articles shipped clandestinely on the coast, are equal to a great deal more.

Indigo, . . .	100,000 lbs.
Cotton, . . .	250,000 do.
Cacao, . . .	40,000 fanegas.
Hides, . . .	70,000 do.

Coffee,	. . .	20,000 lbs.
Copper,	. . .	28,000 do.
Horses,	. . .	500 do.
Mules,	. . .	5,000 do.

With some gums, drugs, dye-wood, &c.

The policy of the British nation, in affording passes to Spanish vessels, which gave them perfect security on these seas, had, in addition to the good effect of turning their trade to their own advantage, the double one of increasing an intercourse which has given rise to a reciprocity of commercial relations, and of convincing even Spain, that the English were sensible that the war then waging was more the effect of political necessity than of inclination.

The surplus of produce, particularly the bulky part, even cacao, which was under the most express restrictions and prohibitions for the last years of war, circulated through the United States, and thence found its way to Europe; and the high prices at which this article was kept in Spain, fully paid the increase of charges which must naturally originate from such a circuitous route; for the running vessels were inconsiderable.

The following were the means by which the clandestine intercourse with British islands, under passes granted by the governors, was carried on. The Spanish vessels cleared out for Guadaloupe, Martinique, and San Domingo, then in possession of their allies, and when they returned, produced

false clearances and fabricated papers by way form; and the ease with which these were obta ed in the islands, would appear astonishing to o who is not acquainted with colonial dealings. passport to any part, or ship's papers of any nati might be obtained for a trifle, in Curaçoa pa cularly, which deceived, and would deceive t most scrutinizing cruiser at sea. Thus the cle ances in the Spanish custom-houses were ma nearly all for islands, to which there never exist a trade of the smallest nature; and so interesti was this species of commerce to the country, giving vent to their produce, and obtaining th cloths, that notwithstanding the severe decr against it, which owed their origin to the jealou and influence of the French, it was never int fered with; nay, the officers charged with t execution of them, shared often in its profits.

The fast-sailing schooners thus employed, we generally pilot boats, built in Virginia, and se out for sale. Very superior boats, however, constructed in many ports on the Main, partic larly Maracaibo, which, from the excellency their timber, last three times as long as a other; and it is a circumstance well deserving t notice of the enterprising ship-builder in t country, that the Bay of Samana is the m suitable place in all the West Indies for obtaini wood, and at the same time the most convenie and accessible. Though much more distant th

the Baltic, the timber is better, and the vessels built of it proportionably increase in value.

The official statements of the intendency of Caracas specified the importations into this country, including contraband trade, at only 5,500,000 dollars at the same period; but those statements are below the truth. On an average from 1789 to 1807, the annual importations amounted to nearly 6,500,000 dollars, including smuggling. Previous to the French Revolution, the French had half of this trade. The French merchants of Martinico, the Dutch of San Eustacia and Curaçoa, the Danish of San Thomas, and the Swedish of San Bartholomew, had their share in this commerce; but since the island of Trinidad was taken by the British, in 1797, they have obtained all the trade of that country, where they have established commercial connexions even as far as the central point of South America, Santa Fé de Bogota.

For the port of La Guayra alone, we can ground our observations, on good authority, by stating the amount that passed through the custom-house in the year 1796, the most neutral period which Spain has enjoyed for some years, and it will serve to assist in estimating the trade of the rest.

In that year, the custom-house returns the arrival of forty-three vessels from the Spanish ports in Europe, of different descriptions, and having on board, viz.—

Bartholomew, and the Danes of San Thomas, who, since the peace of 1783, have paid the Spaniards for what they bought of them in British manufactures. M. Depons may have had his reasons for not divulging those things; for not saying, that, though in no country the fiscal laws have been more rigorous than in the Spanish colonies, there was yet no part of the world where there was so much contraband trade, and where the rights of the national commerce were more violated, owing to the absurdity of those laws.

When, by the effects of a liberal government and wise laws, Guayana arrives at that pitch of prosperity, to attain which the inhabitants can avail themselves of the fertility of its soil, and its peculiar natural riches, the numerous navigable rivers which intersect it in every direction, its geographical position, &c. it will become the centre and magazine of an immense trade, of the importance of which no one who has not visited the country can form an idea. It is to the banks of the Orinoco that the inhabitants of Santa Fé de Bogota will go, to exchange the productions of their soil for those of European industry, and for the commodities of North America, while the first named country will also become the centre of a great trade between Peru and other parts of the world.

The exertions of industry, however, meet in Guayana obstacles in the difficulty of communication, as well on account of the number of rivers

with which the province is intersected in every direction, as the want of roads, and the wretched support of those that do exist. They require barges, or large ferry-boats, on the rivers they are obliged to pass the most frequently, in order to afford the cultivator, at all seasons, a certainty of transport for his commodities. They require also a new road from the capital to Caycara: the present communication is very long, very difficult, and often impracticable. A second road from San Thomé to Barcelonetta, distant about four days' journey, is necessary. Lastly, a third road is wanted for the village of San Antonio, forty leagues from the capital.

The inhabitants of Barcelonetta represent also, through their delegate, that the port of San Thomé experiences continual encroachments, of which it is indispensable to arrest the progress. After the long and heavy rains that soak and soften their lands, there are made by the rapidity of the current of the Orinoco considerable encroachments, which expose their houses to be washed away from the month of July to September. It is impossible to prevent these excavations, and preserve the city, but by means of a solid quay in all that part called the Almeda.

Another work which Guayana demands, is to blow up the large stones that prevent vessels from anchoring in the most convenient and safe situations. This might easily be done on the approach of the month of February, when the waters of

the Orinoco, fallen thirteen fathoms, leaves these stones uncovered. This operation ought to be performed at the place called La Cucuycra, because it is the most sheltered part of the harbour and where vessels lose most anchors.

It is particularly required, says Depons, that the passage at Mamo, seven leagues below the capital, should be rendered more navigable. From the month of January to April no vessel can pass there with a cargo. Every vessel must discharge without being able to load again until after passing this channel, for then it does not carry above seven or eight feet of water. They must deepen the bed, the depth of which every day diminishes, as well from the deposition of sand, as by the ballast which a number of ships throw out, in order to lighten themselves, and be able to pass. Mr Jones, however, states, that the George Canning, a ship of 330 tons, went over the pass of Mamo in the middle of February 1818; and that vessels of all descriptions, but principally brigs and schooners, find a channel at all seasons of the year.

The Spanish Government has moreover thought, that it accorded best with the defence of Guayana to place the capital at the enormous distance of ninety leagues from the sea, and not to leave in this space any city exposed to the invasions of an enemy. It is certainly absurd to suppose, that a city on the banks of a river can defend the entrance into a country better by leaving between

it and the sea the most important part of the possession, than if it was near the sea, and an enemy could not penetrate into the territory but after having taken it.

We do not, however, examine the situation of San Thomé but as it relates to agriculture, navigation, and commerce; and, under these points of view, it could never be worse situate than it now is.

In all ages, reason has advised to give the preference, for the cultivation of colonial produce, to the lands nearest to the sea, or at least to navigable rivers; because the saving which results from the transportation by water, in diminishing the charge on the whole, becomes a powerful encouragement to the cultivator, and contributes also to the increase of agriculture, and the augmentation of commerce.

On this principle, the lands of Guayana, between the river Carony and the sea, are those which ought to have been cultivated the first. Divided into immense plains, mountains, hill sides, and valleys, every article might find a soil and climate adapted to it; and the different rivers that enrich this part assure, in case of droughts, irrigations to supply the want of rain, and a conveyance to the Orinoco without any expense.

It is impossible to yield to any idea of success, so long as the only city of Guayana shall be at the great distance from the sea that it now is; for if to sell their productions, and purchase their ne-

cessaries, the inhabitants of the part to the east of the Carony are obliged to ascend to San Thomé, and expose themselves to charges, delays, and incalculable dangers for every thing they send to or require from the capital, they will very soon, and with reason, renounce a possession which repays neither the advances nor the labour it exacts.

If it be repugnant to cultivation, that San Thomé should be placed at Angostura, navigation and commerce demand no less that it should be carried nearer the sea, or that another city be substituted in its place. The great difficulties that vessels of all sizes have to surmount, in order to go as high as San Thomé, have already been seen, in the description of the Orinoco; and it has been shewn, that the Spanish policy has placed it on the spot of the river so beset with rocks, shelves, and sands, that it seems as if nature wished to separate it from man, by shewing herself under the most hideous aspect.

The voyage from Boca de Navios to San Thomé is tedious. If to this be added the time lost, and the risks run, it will be seen that there are very few seamen who would not prefer sailing their vessels to Europe, to the trouble, the care, and the dangers annexed to the navigation of the Orinoco.

The exterior navigation merits, however, so much the more regard, as what would be expended in surmounting the difficulties opposed

to it, is always paid by the cultivator; for the expense and dangers of navigation are always carried to account in commercial speculations, and necessarily cause in the articles a deduction fatal to local prosperity. The interior navigation being performed with shallops and canoes that no shoals can impede, it is much more suitable that it should be appropriated to transport the products to that part of the Orinoco where all sorts of sea vessels can with facility repair, than to oblige these last to ascend the stream, and make the voyage longer, more expensive, and more dangerous.

It is then contrary to every principle of agricultural and commercial economy, that the only port existing in Guayana should be so buried, and so little accessible to navigation. The city of San Thomé may well remain where it is; but the drawing any advantage from this province must be impeded, so long as there shall not be in the lower part of the Orinoco, and not far from its mouth, any port to receive the products of the interior, and to facilitate to vessels from sea voyages, the means of making their exchanges with more dispatch and less expense.

As to the trade in animals, the native temper of the Spaniard, more inclined to the pastoral life, which leaves great intervals of repose, than to the agricultural, which demands continual activity, induces him to prefer the arid plains of the Orinoco, which he covers with his herds, to

the fertile valleys of Venezuela, which he might enrich with the most valuable productions. From the village of Pao, in the province of Cumana, to Merida, that is to say, for an extent of more than 150 leagues east and west, and a breadth of 40 leagues, are every-where found hatos (rude enclosures of pasture lands) of greater or less dimensions, which are filled with mules, oxen, and horses. Many planters of Caracas have these kinds of possessions at a distance of eight, ten, and twelve days' journey from the town where they reside; and the planters of Calabozo, San Sebastian de los Reyes, Guanare, Truxillo, Varinas, San Carlos, San Philippe, Barquisimeto, Carora, &c. have scarcely any others. The revenues produced by these enclosures are slow and precarious. The inundations and droughts occasion losses which often destroy the fairest hopes of the owners. The mules are not proper for work until five years of age.

The females of these animals are preferable to the males. They sustain fatigue better, and they sooner accustom themselves to new pasturage. There is the greater demand for them in the provinces of Caracas, because every thing is there transported on the backs of mules. No river, excepting the Orinoco for Guayana, carries the produce to the ports of embarkation. The mules are also the only saddle animals used by the Creoles of Tierra Firme who inhabit the mountains, or who are obliged to traverse them. They

find them more steady than horses, at the same time that they are easier to maintain, and much more patient of hunger and thirst.

In all the islands, both windward and leeward, mules are indispensable, as well for carriages as for sugar-mills; and they can be supplied only from Tierra Firme.—Trinidad receives them by way of Guarapiche; Tobago, Grenada, Barbadoes, San Vincent, Santa Lucia, Martinique, Guadaloupe, by Guayana, Cumana, and Barcelona; Porto Rico by San Domingo and Cuba; and Jamaica by Porto Cavello. Some are also embarked at Coro for the two last islands.

The port of Guayra is in a manner shut to this commerce, by the difficulty which the roughness of its road opposes to the embarkation of animals.

By the immense consumption of mules, we may judge how much they must abound at Tierra Firme. It is estimated that the annual produce is 16,000, of which 6000 are employed in the country, and the residue go to foreign colonies. The working mule, called *saca*, cost, during the last war, twenty-five dollars at the port. They were obtained for fourteen or fifteen dollars on the spots where they were raised; but no prudent speculator receives them at his own risk till the moment of embarkation.

If the late war, from 1793 to 1801, had been a proper war for Tierra Firme, the price of mules would have risen on the return of peace; but the commerce of Tierra Firme has slackened

since that period, when, in the ordinary course of things, it should have become more active. Thus the price of mules has diminished instead of increasing.*

On the supposition that the price of mules had been kept up at twenty-five dollars, the 10,000 annually exported would amount to 250,000 dollars. The freight received by the Spanish vessels, estimated at the lowest rate, and with a deduction of the mules which perished at sea, amounts to 150,000, making in the whole 400,000 dollars.

But as, instead of selling them on the spot, the Creoles ship the mules on their own account, which sell in the colonies for 250 or 300 francs, (50 or 60 dollars), it follows, admitting a loss of one-tenth in transportation, and putting them at the lowest price of 250 francs, that they produce the sum of 2,500,000 francs, or 500,000 dollars, which Tierra Firme ought annually to receive in plantation utensils, money, &c. It appears from the last estimate, that two-thirds of the value of the mules are laid out in dry goods, which are smuggled to the continent.

The number of cattle, which was formerly so considerable as to be sufficient for local consumption, and for that of all the Antilles, is at present

* Mr Jones says, in 1819 and 1820 they were at Angostura forty-five dollars; and in 1821 they rose to fifty and fifty-five dollars, of which fifteen dollars was the duty on exportation.

much reduced. The want of exportation, and the defective regulation of the butcheries, occasioned horned cattle to sink in price by insensible degrees after 1799; and the hides acquiring an increase from the same period, the animals became valuable only for their skins and tallow. Horned cattle were estimated at ten francs upon the spot, and it was often necessary to take them to the city, where fifteen francs were obtained; but the expense and other incidents of conducting them reduced the price to five. The hides were valued on the spot at five or six francs, and were sold as soon as collected. The proprietor, thus assailed by want in the midst of his numerous herds, resorted to the only expedient left him. Since the hides alone had value, which was moderate indeed, but certain, he was compelled to kill and skin the cattle, in order to sell the hides and tallow. This office of destroying was intrusted to men mounted on horses, and armed with spears. Bulls, oxen, cows, heifers, all they could reach, fell beneath the murderer's steel. The rest were put to flight, and plunged into the impenetrable forests, where terror retained great numbers of them. This procedure ceased with the necessity that occasioned it. The proprietors endeavoured to repair the ravages produced by despair; but the injurious example furnished numerous brigands with the idea of making a trade of destroying cattle for the sake of their hides. The plains were presently infested by these men, who

live only on the misfortunes of society. Cattle were found on all sides stripped of their hides, and abandoned to the voracity of birds of prey. The proprietors invoked the authority of the laws, the protection of Government, and the assistance of the public force. Their complaints were heard, decrees were issued, and orders given, but the failure of execution assured impunity to the offenders, and increased their number.

The port of Barcelona has had a very active commerce of this kind ever since 1795. From it is exported great part of the produce of those vast steppes, which extend from the south side of the chain of the coast as far as the Orinoco. The commercial industry of these countries depends on the demand in the great and little West India Islands, for salted provision, oxen, mules, and horses. The coasts of Tierra Firme being opposite to those of the island of Cuba, at a distance of fifteen or eighteen days' sail, the merchants of Havannah prefer, especially in time of peace, drawing their provision from the port of Barcelona, to the risk of a long voyage in another hemisphere, to the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. Of a black population amounting to 1,300,000, which the archipelago of the West India Islands now contains, Cuba alone has more than 230,000 slaves,* who are fed with vege-

* The debates in the Cortes of Cadiz, on the abolition of the slave-trade, led the Consulado of the Havannah to make an accurate inquiry, in 1811, into the population of the island

ables, salt provision, and dried fish. Every vessel that trades in salt meat, or tasajo, from Tierra Firme, carries 20,000 or 30,000 arrobas, the sale price of which is more than 45,000 piastres. The situation of Barcelona is singularly advantageous for the trade in cattle. The animals have only three days' journey from the Llanos to the port, while it requires eight or nine days to reach Cumana, on account of the chain of mountains of the Brigantin and the Imposible. According to the best information Humboldt could obtain, 8000 mules were embarked at Barcelona, 6000 at Porto Cavello, and 3000 at Carupano in 1799 and 1800, for the Spanish, English, and French islands. He says, "I am ignorant of the precise exportation of Burburata, Coro, and the mouths of the Guarapiche and the Orinoco; but I believe, notwithstanding the causes that have diminished the quantity of cattle in the Llanos of Cumana, Barcelona, and Caracas, those immense steppes did not furnish less at that period than 30,000 mules a-year for the West India trade." Estimating each mule at twenty-five piastres, (the cost price), we find that this branch of trade alone produces nearly 3,700,000 francs, without reckoning the profits on the freight of the vessels. M. Depons, in general very exact in his statistical computations, estimates them at

of Cuba. It was found to contain 600,000 souls, of whom 274,000 were whites, 114,000 free men of colour, and 212,000 Negro slaves.

of the officers and soldiers who surrounded them. From these they received every indulgence which was compatible with their situation. The facility with which their requests were granted, the eagerness with which their principles were adopted, the veneration with which they were looked upon as the martyrs of liberty and the victims of despotism, not only led them to hope for the means of escape from their confinement, but likewise imboldened them to promulgate their opinions with the prospect of better success in Venezuela than they had met with in Spain.

Proselytes of all classes, of all colours, of all conditions, eagerly inlisted themselves, and the principles of liberty were gaining ground apace, when suddenly the whole plot was discovered to the Government. It immediately gave orders that all those mentioned in the denunciation should be instantly arrested. The two principal movers in the enterprise made their escape. One of them, named Gual, (son of Don Matheo Gual, who defended La Guayra so resolutely in 1743 against the English under Admiral Knowles), was a Creolė, and had been a captain in the troops of the line, but was now retired from the service: the other, España, was corregidor of the village of Macuto, near La Guayra. Some of the conspirators presented themselves to profit by the pardon which the Audiencia had offered to those who should declare their guilt. Unfortunately for these poor men, it was neither so generous nor

so unconditional as had been promised. Thus another of those infractions of their faith was added to the many which already tarnished the Spanish name.

From the interrogatories which the accused underwent, and from the depositions of the witnesses, it clearly appeared, that the intention of Gual and his associates was to destroy the existing government, and establish upon its ruins a Republic; to abjure the sovereignty of Spain, and to proclaim independence. They were to corrupt the troops, seize the chiefs, take every precaution that prudence could dictate to ensure the success of their enterprise, and then invite the other provinces to follow their example.

The number of persons who were either accused or informed against, amounted to 72. Of these, 7 were condemned to death; some to the galleys or temporary imprisonment; and the rest, against whom the proofs were very slight, were sent to Spain to be disposed of as the King should direct.

Thus fell to the ground the conspiracy of La Guayra. Although it failed in its ultimate object, it will remain an unquestionable monument of the liberal and enlightened views of its projector. When we consider the disadvantages under which he laboured, and the difficulties which he had to surmount, we cannot sufficiently admire the boldness with which he attempted, the sagacity with which he planned, and the ardour of his love for

liberty, which unfortunately overlooked all the obstacles that stood in the way of his success.

Although the immediate consequences resulting from the success of Gual's enterprise were for the moment averted by the energetic measures pursued by the Spanish Government upon the discovery of the plot, yet there still remained a party among whom the principles of liberty which Gual professed, had made too deep an impression to be easily effaced. To assist this revolutionary spirit, an expedition from the United States was fitted out by General Miranda in the year 1806.

Before we proceed to give an account of this expedition, a slight biographical sketch of the previous life and pursuits of the man in whose breast the scheme of South American emancipation, if not first conceived, appears to have been first matured, will not, it is hoped, be misplaced here, or be unacceptable to our readers.

FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA was a native of Caracas, and was descended from one of the principal families there. He repaired, at the early age of seventeen, to the court of Spain, and by the influence of his family obtained a captain's commission in the Spanish army. When France and Spain determined to take a share in the war which Great Britain was then waging with her revolted colonies, young Miranda was in that part of the Spanish army which was destined to cooperate with the French. It was during this campaign in America, where the cause of liberty

was the object of all men's zeal and enthusiasm, in a country the situation of which in so many respects resembled his own, that the design of emancipating his native country first presented itself to his view. So deeply was this impression fixed upon his mind, that, from that period, to this one object he dedicated the whole of his life, and was the prime mover of every scheme proposed for the emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America.

At the termination of the American war, he retired from the Spanish service, having determined to visit the most enlightened nations in Europe, in order to draw from them such instruction as might be beneficial to his native country. For this purpose he repaired to Great Britain, where, even at that early period, he and his cause attracted considerable notice. From Great Britain he proceeded to Prussia, Austria, Italy, Greece, and even to Turkey. Thence he went to Russia, where he was introduced to the Empress by Prince Potemkin, to whom, as a Spaniard travelling in search of knowledge, and improved by it, he appeared in the light of a phenomenon. She pressed him much to remain in Russia. When Miranda, in reply, informed her of the plans he had formed for the independence of his country, she manifested the strongest interest in the accomplishment of the scheme, and assured him, in case of success, of her readiness to support the independence of South America.

It was after this tour through Europe, that, on his return to England by way of France, he was introduced to Mr Pitt by his friend Governor Pownal, when he proposed that plan, of which Spain prevented the execution by her submission on the question at issue.

When the prospect of assistance from England was thus closed upon him for an indefinite period, and the first dawn of liberty in France was attracting the attention of the curious in every quarter of the globe, Miranda determined to visit that country, in order to obtain, if possible, some assistance towards establishing, for the southern part of America, that liberty which France had been so instrumental in procuring for the northern. Through his companions in arms, whom he had known in America, he was speedily brought into connexion with the great men at the head of affairs; and, when Revolutionary France first drew the sword, he was prevailed on, and accepted a command in her armies.

It was during this period that the Republican leaders first conceived the plan of revolutionizing Spain and her colonies. Although this plan was splendid in the extreme, and sufficient to dazzle the mind of a man of ordinary ambition, yet was it discouraged and finally renounced by means of Miranda, who began to perceive that the French Revolution was proceeding too fast and too far.

Some few months after this occurrence, the reign of Robespierre began; and Miranda, with

many other virtuous men, was thrown into a dungeon, and very narrowly escaped the guillotine. After the death of Robespierre, he might still have become a leading man in the Revolution, and was offered a command in the army. His answer was, that although he had fought for liberty, he would not fight for conquest; and, provided France would establish a free and moderate government, and retire within her ancient limits, he would still willingly fight for her against all her enemies.

About this period, Miranda was met by some deputies from Mexico, and other provinces of South America, who had repaired to Europe, to concert with him the measures best adapted to promote the independence of their country. It was accordingly decided, that he should repair to England with such offers to the British Government, as should induce them, it was hoped, to grant the assistance which was necessary to the attainment of their wishes.

The proposal was transmitted to Mr Pitt, who acceded to it with alacrity. The outline of the proceedings was agreed upon; and the agreement of the United States to furnish 10,000 men, while the British Government should furnish the money and ships, was all that was wanting to complete this desirable plan. The President, Adams, declined transmitting an immediate answer: The consequence was, it was again postponed.

In the beginning of 1801, during Lord Sidmouth's administration, the project was again

revived. The forms of government to be recommended to the provinces of South America, were considered and approved; the plans of military operations sketched and arranged; and all the preparations for the expedition far advanced, when the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens were signed, and the measure delayed till another opportunity.

When war was declared against France in 1803, the operations against South America formed one of the principal designs of ministers; and measures were taken to put them in execution, the moment the peace that then subsisted between England and Spain should be broken. This event did not occur till 1804, when Mr Pitt was again at the head of the administration. The measure was now prosecuted with zeal; and Sir Home Popham and Lord Melville were busily employed in arranging the whole details of procedure, when the project was again disconcerted by the change of affairs in Europe.

Wearied with these repeated disappointments, and earnestly solicited by the exiles from the provinces of Santa Fé and Caracas resident in the United States, General Miranda was prevailed upon to quit his residence in this country, and make an attempt through the medium of America alone. Although he had no hope at that time of receiving any active assistance from the British Government, still they gave him the security, that no body of French or Spanish troops should be allowed to cross the Atlantic.

Under these circumstances, he was induced to hope that a very small force, just sufficient to keep in awe the troops stationed in the Spanish garrisons, and to afford some appearance of security to the people, would be required to effect his purpose; and he was not without hopes, that on account of the disputes at that time subsisting between Spain and the United States, he should not long remain without all the assistance from the latter that was necessary. Upon his arrival in America, he had the mortification to find, that the disputes upon the subject of Louisiana had been compromised, and that he must not expect that any assistance would be publicly given from that quarter.

The General, urged by the ardour inspired into great minds by great designs, instead of sinking under the repeated mortifications and disappointments which he had experienced in his endeavours to liberate his native country, seemed to acquire fresh vigour and elasticity, the more his means diminished, and his resources were curtailed. He at length induced Mr Ogden, a merchant of New York, to fit out an armed vessel, the Leander, Captain Lewis, with two hundred young men of great respectability, who had volunteered their services, to proceed with her to San Domingo, there to be joined by the Emperor, commanded by another Captain Lewis, brother to the Captain of the Leander.

Although the Government of the United States, urged by the repeated solicitations of the French

and Spanish ambassadors, thought proper, in order to exculpate themselves in the eyes of those two Governments, to order the prosecution of Mr Ogden and Colonel Smith, a zealous friend of the cause of General Miranda, on the plea, that the equipment of the Leander was unauthorized and illegal; yet it came out upon trial, to the conviction of the jury, who thereupon acquitted the parties, that the Government was privy to all the proceedings, and, by never so much as whispering their disapprobation, appeared of necessity to him and to his agents to favour, although they might deem it impolitic openly to countenance, their proceedings.

The first consequences of this trial were very injurious to the ultimate success of Miranda's expedition; for the Captain of the Emperor having heard of the trial instituted against the parties above mentioned, absolutely refused to proceed on its destination. It then became necessary, instead of the Emperor, to engage two small schooners. The General, although cruelly disappointed in not being joined by the Emperor, an armed ship of thirty guns, still determined to prosecute his plan, and for that purpose proceeded on his voyage to the coast of Caracas, where, as he supposed that the Spanish Government was still ignorant of his movements, he hoped to effect his landing without opposition. But the Spanish ambassador having obtained intelligence of the destination of the squadron, had sent advice of it

to the Governor of Caracas, and Miranda, instead of meeting with friends as he had expected, had the mortification to find that the necessary measures had been taken for defence. Here his two schooners unfortunately fell into the hands of the guarda-costas, which had been stationed there for the protection of the coast.

Under these trying circumstances, Miranda determined to bear away for Trinidad, in order to procure from Admiral Cochrane, who was then commanding upon that station, a British auxiliary force. The admiral instantly complied with the general's request, and ordered some sloops and gun-boats to accompany him in the expedition.

Thus reinforced, the general set sail on the 24th of July 1806, for the coast of Caracas, with his fleet, now consisting of fifteen vessels in all, having on board about 500 officers and men, all volunteers. On the morning of the 2d of August his little army effected its landing at a place called La Vela de Coro. But some delay having taken place in the disembarkation, the enemy had time to spread the alarm, and take measures for their defence. About 500 Spanish soldiers and 700 Indians made some slight resistance, and then fled in all directions. Two forts, and upwards of twenty guns stationed to protect the post of La Vela, surrendered with all their stores and ammunition. Having secured the friendly disposition of the inhabitants of La Vela de Coro, amounting to about 3000, General Miranda determined to

proceed to the city of Coro, situate about 15 miles up the country, and containing a population of 12,000. He entered Coro before daybreak next morning.

From Vela de Coro the general issued a proclamation, which breathed the purest sentiments of affection and good-will towards the inhabitants of those countries. The principles and views which influenced the Colombian army, were severally unfolded in various proclamations, and in letters to the city council of Coro, and the bishop of Merida, who had retired to Buena Vista, and with whom General Miranda kept up a secret correspondence for several days. The smallness of his force, however, prevented confidence in success, and the people dreaded the vengeance of the Spanish Government in the event of a defeat. The general having heard that a body of troops were collecting to oppose him, determined to evacuate Coro, and remove his head-quarters to the sea-shore.

Thence he dispatched an officer to the admirals upon the Jamaica station, representing the absolute necessity of a force sufficient to give confidence to the American people, and requesting it might be sent without delay. Sir Eyre Coote and Admiral Dacres regretted that it was not in their power to send him that succour which his intentions demanded, as they had received no official instructions from home for that purpose. Admiral Dacres gave orders to his cruisers, however, to

afford him every possible protection. Captain Ledlie returned with this answer to Miranda, who, after having dispatched him to Jamaica, had retired to Aruba, with the intention of seizing upon the strong post of Rio de la Hacha, there to maintain himself till succours should arrive.

Soon after this, however, Admiral Cochrane sent him a ship of the line and two frigates, with reiterated assurances of support. But, in the mean time, erroneous reports having reached the West Indies, that preliminaries of peace had been signed by Lord Lauderdale at Paris, and it being likewise intimated that Admiral Cochrane would in that case be obliged to withdraw his force, General Miranda found himself under the necessity of evacuating the Spanish Main, and retiring to Trinidad.

Had General Miranda met with a suitable cooperation from the British force, as he had reason to expect, his success, there is no reason to doubt, would have been complete. His whole views and principles were calculated to gain the entire confidence of the people; and there can be no doubt that it would have been readily afforded, had he been accompanied with a force sufficient to protect them from any adverse consequences.

A writer in the Annual Register for 1807, from whom we have derived considerable assistance in our account of this expedition of General Miranda, observes, in allusion to the honourable and disinterested conduct of the commander of the ex-

pedition,—"The grand design in which he and his worthy companions were engaged, was not marred and disgraced by any selfish and dishonourable motives of personal gain. On the contrary, his chief care was to direct the views of his officers and men to the grandeur and glory of the object before them, and to inspire them with a sense of the necessity of constantly observing a suitable conduct towards the people whom they had come to emancipate; while, at the same time, he used all possible means to convince his countrymen of the beneficence of his views, as well as of the equitable and conciliatory means by which he hoped to obtain them."

During the year 1807, nothing material transpired to forward the separation of these provinces from the dominion of Spain. Not that the people were by any means satisfied with the condition in which they were placed; on the contrary, they were highly discontented, and were constantly transmitting details of their grievances to the mother-country with petitions for redress. These the court of Madrid knew perfectly well how to evade; and the peculiar situation in which the Creoles or natives of the country were placed, from the jealousy of the Spanish Government, prevented them from undertaking any more forcible measures.

From Great Britain, to whom they had always looked up as the power from whom they were to obtain the foreign assistance which would be

cessary for them towards the establishment of eir liberty, they could expect no aid at that oment. For although a British force made its pearance in another quarter of South America, ıder the command of General Whitelocke, still s progress was marked with conduct so very fferent from that of a friendly power, as to leave) very strong inducements in the inhabitants of at country to trust to the generosity of the ritish nation.

How long this state of things might have connued, it is impossible for us at the present period determine, had not the extraordinary invasion Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte loosened those es which united the inhabitants of the New to iose of the Old World, and which, together with ie effects which the late expedition of Miranda nd the preceding conspiracy of Gual, had made pon the minds of the Creoles, roused them from ıat state of apathy in which they had languished or three centuries, and gave rise to a Revolution nparalleled in the annals of history.

In the forlorn state in which Spain found herelf in consequence of the arrangements made at Bayonne in 1808, those provinces which were ill unoccupied by the French, formed for themelves assemblies, denominated Juntas, which asumed, in their several districts, the supreme uthority. Among these, the Junta of Seville, aking the appellation of Junta Suprema y Goberativa de España y de Indias, sent deputies to

every part of South America, who, the better to succeed in their plans, affirmed, that the Junta of Seville was acknowledged and obeyed throughout Spain, and required a similar acknowledgment of its authority in America. At the same time, the regency established by King Ferdinand at Madrid, previous to his departure for Bayonne, likewise sent deputies to require the same acknowledgment of its superior power in America. Even the Junta of Asturias required a similar acknowledgment of its superiority, and denied the authority of that of Seville.

Here then was the moment at last arrived for America to assert that freedom, the attainment of which she had so lately sought in vain. To us of the present day, it seems unaccountable how she could permit to pass so favourable an opportunity for the emancipation of the New World. The only reason by which it has ever been attempted to explain this extraordinary conduct (and weak and futile enough it is), is, that they were so paralyzed with surprise at the unexpected and novel circumstances in which they were placed, so moved with compassion at the lamentable condition of the Royal family, and even so full of admiration for the noble struggle which the Spanish nation was making for their liberty, that they lost the happy moment when they might easily have secured the quiet possession of their own.

The conduct of the American governors at this period, forms a wonderful contrast with that of

the American people. With the exception of the viceroy of Mexico, all were willing to acknowledge and transfer their allegiance to Bonaparte, according to the decree signed by the Council of the Indies. The Americans alone opposed this decree: they publicly burnt the proclamations sent out by Bonaparte, and expelled his agents.

Some months after this public testimonial of their affection to the mother-country had taken place, several of the most considerable families in Caracas presented a petition to the Captain-General, requesting him to elect a Junta similar to those in Spain. The reason they alleged was, the internal commotions in Spain; but, although the principles on which the petition was drawn up were perfectly legal, the petitioners were arrested. Among the subscribers were the Marquis del Toro, the Marquis de Casa Leon, the Count de Tobar, Count Xavier, and many others. Though arrested, they were soon after released.

During these transactions in America, the provincial Juntas in Spain had agreed to send deputies in order to form a general assembly, which should take the command of the nation; and although, by the laws of Spain, a regency should have been appointed in lieu of this Junta Central, still its authority was acknowledged, and so powerfully supported by the colonies in South America, that upwards of ninety millions of dollars were remitted to it previous to the beginning of 1810.

In the mean time, Quito, one of the provinces comprehended under what was formerly deno-

minated the Viceroyalty of New Grenada, considering the Peninsula too feeble to free itself from the dominion of the French, and wishing to provide for its own security, determined upon establishing a separate government, which it accordingly did on the 10th of August 1809.

Upon hearing of these occurrences taking place, the viceroy of New Grenada, Don A. Amar, determined to convoke a Junta, consisting of the most respectable persons in Santa Fé de Bogota, under the pretence of asking their advice. The Junta assembled in the viceroy's palace on the 7th of September 1809, and the general voice was not only in favour of the Junta of Quito, but they likewise declared, that a similar assembly, which should recognize the authority of the Junta Central, and should act in concert with the viceroy, was equally desirable in Santa Fé.

The viceroy, whose real design was to discover those who were disaffected to the present government, dismissed the Junta, appointed it to meet on the 11th of the same month, and, as he was deaf, requested that every member should bring his vote in writing. The appointed day arrived; the guards of the palace were doubled; and the people of Santa Fé were surprised to see the military preparations made by the viceroy. The Junta met; and notwithstanding all this military pomp, every member presented his written vote, which added no inconsiderable weight to the

opinions expressed by the members in this first Junta. Many of the speeches in these assemblies were remarkable for the freedom and energy with which they were delivered. At this period it was that Torres, Gutierrez, Padilla, Moreno, and others, first breathed those sentiments of pure patriotism for which their names were afterwards so much celebrated.

In the mean time, the viceroy of Santa Fé determined, by force of arms, to put down the Junta of Quito; and while he proceeded on the north, Abascal, the viceroy of Peru, advanced on the south, to co-operate for the same purpose. After some slight skirmishes, the defenders of the Junta were overpowered, and the government dissolved. Previously to their submission, they received an assurance from the Spanish president, Count Ruiz de Castillo, that all past events should be buried in oblivion. Regardless, however, of this promise, a great number of the patriots were arrested; and in the following year, under the pretence of an alarm given by the soldiers, were massacred in prison; and the troops of Lima, stationed there to preserve order, were allowed to pillage at pleasure.

Intelligence of these events soon reached the Junta Central. The news of the disaffection which was rapidly spreading throughout the provinces, had long preceded it. The declarations of attachment to the mother-country, which the Americans had so often made, and which were no doubt

sincere, were met with no corresponding plans of reform for the colonies.

They accordingly began to grow weary of their dependence upon a government, which contentedly saw them making the greatest sacrifices in its behalf, without taking a single step to protect them against the intolerable oppressions they were suffering from the rapacity of the Spaniards, who exclusively enjoyed all the public employments.

The news of the dispersion of the Central Junta, and the subsequent illegal election of a regency, arriving shortly after, the inhabitants of Caracas, convinced that there remained no hopes of any accommodation with the Captain-General Emparan, who required a blind submission to every species of government emanating from Spain, nominated deputies, who, together with the municipality of Caracas, assumed the reins of government on the 19th of April 1810, taking the appellation of the Supreme Junta, maintaining the rights of Ferdinand VII.

The first acts of the new Government were to seize the persons of the Captain-General and the members of the Audiencia, who were immediately sent to the United States. They decreed, that the *alcabala*, the tribute paid by the Indians, and the slave-trade, should be abolished; that freedom of commerce, agriculture, &c. should be established; and that these political changes should be published throughout the provinces, and made known to the English Government.

Intelligence of these occurrences having spread through the whole of Caracas, all excepting Maracaibo and Coro formed Juntas, in imitation of the capital. The Junta of Guayana at first acknowledged the Supreme Junta of Caracas, but afterwards, through the preponderance of Spanish influence in the Junta, renounced allegiance to it, and recognized the Regency of Cadiz. The Juntas of Varinas and Cumana sent their deputies to Caracas. They did not, however, acknowledge the Supreme Junta, but insisted upon a General Congress being assembled. Don Fernando Miyares, governor of Maracaibo, resisted the innovations at Caracas, and ill-treated the deputies who had been sent to him by the new Government. They were afterwards imprisoned by Cevallos, the commandant of Coro, and thrown into the dungeons of Porto Rico, whence they were afterwards released at the intercession of Sir Alexander Cochrane.

The Supreme Junta of Caracas immediately informed the Regency of the changes which had taken place; and, in a letter to the Marquis de las Hermazas, minister in Spain, informed it of the reasons which had induced them to make these. They moreover cordially offered every assistance that it was in their power to afford, to aid Spain in expelling the French.

This conduct served only to irritate the Regency, to whom these innovations appeared in the light of rebellion; and they immediately

issued a decree, bearing date 10th of August 1810, in which they declared their determination " to use every means to stop the evil in its origin, and prevent its progress." For this purpose, they declared all the ports in the possession of the new Government in a state of blockade, and sent Don N. Corta-Varria, with the title of Comisionado Regio, to Porto Rico, invested with full power to reduce the province of Venezuela to its former subjection.

He began by first addressing the people of Caracas, exhorting them to dissolve the Junta, and promising, upon its dissolution, that the complaints of the people should be redressed. Finding that this address had no effect, he had recourse to spies and emissaries, whom he dispatched throughout the country, in order to effect a counter-revolution.

In the mean time, the Supreme Junta, foreseeing the disagreeable consequences which might result from the opposition shewn by the governor of Maracaibo, who had been nominated Captain-General by the Regency, determined to send some troops under the command of the Marquis del Toro, to prevent any molestation on the part of Miyares. General del Toro at first entered into correspondence with the governor of Maracaibo, endeavouring to persuade him to make common cause with the rest of Venezuela. Finding this useless, and observing the vast accession of force which he obtained, owing to the emigra-

ion from the neighbouring provinces, the Mar- uis acquainted the Supreme Junta of his inten- ion of attacking the department of Coro, and of he advantages which would result therefrom in ase of success. To this the Junta of Caracas greed, and the Marquis entered the department f Coro the 10th of November 1810. At first e met with success; but having neglected to tation forces to preserve his communication with Caracas, whence he derived his supplies, his pro- isions were cut off, and the Marquis was obliged o make his retreat, which he accomplished with considerable difficulty.

General Miranda, ever attentive to what he onceived to be the welfare of his country, now letermined again to make an attempt for its in- lependence. For this purpose he set out from London in October 1810, and reached the shores of Caracas some months after. The Junta, who it that time carried on all their operations, and oublished all their actions in the name of Ferdi- iand VII. had given instructions to their depu- ies to prevent, if possible, the General's depar- ure, not from any motives of dislike, but they were afraid that their reception of a man who ad made so many attempts for the deliverance of his country, might seem in contradiction to that moderate conduct which they wished to ob- serve towards Spain.

We must not omit to mention, among the oc- currences of this year, an attempt by the British

Government to reconcile the difference subsisting between the Spanish Regency and the American Governments. Lord Liverpool, on the 29th June 1810, wrote to General Layard, governor of Curaçoa, " that his Britannic Majesty had strong reasons for hoping, that the inhabitants of Caracas would acknowledge the authority of the Regency of Spain." Shortly after, Colonel Robertson, secretary to the governor, was dispatched to Caraças, apparently with the design of prevailing with the Junta to realize the wish of the British minister; but having observed the general discontent which prevailed against the Spanish Government, he did not venture to make known the object of his journey.

Having given an account of the events which passed in the province of Caracas during the year 1810, we will now proceed to detail the occurrences which, during the same year, agitated the viceroyalty of New Grenada.

When intelligence was received at Carthagena from Spain of the dispersion of the Central Junta, various disturbances took place in several provinces of the viceroyalty, that afforded an opportunity to the inhabitants of Santa Fé, which they gladly seized, to renounce their allegiance to the Spanish governors, and establish a Junta. This they did on the 20th of July 1810. The Junta acknowledged the superiority of the Regency of Spain, and even elected the governor president; but being alarmed by the report of a conspiracy

formed by him and the members of the Audiencia, they ordered him, his lady, and the greater part of the members of the Audiencia to be arrested, sent to Carthagena, and afterwards to Spain. The authority of the Regency was now disowned, and a manifesto was published inviting the other provinces to send their deputies to Santa Fé, in order to deliberate upon the best form of government to be adopted during the captivity of the King.

The provinces of Tunja, Pamplona, Casanare, Carthagena, Socorro, Antioquia, Citara, Neyva, and Mariquita, declared in favour of the revolution. Santa Martha at first made a declaration to the same effect, though she was induced to disown it afterwards, in consequence of the dissolution of the Junta, and the formation of another by the Spaniards in a popular commotion which they had raised, and which was entirely devoted to their interests.

In the mean time, Tacon, governor of Popayan, who, contrary to the opinion of the people, as expressed in the popular meeting some time before, was averse to the formation of a popular Junta, assembled an army to attack the new government of Santa Fé, which immediately dispatched some troops under the command of A. Baraya to check Tacon in his career. In this Baraya succeeded, having defeated Tacon in a battle which was fought on the banks of the river Palace, near the town of Popayan, in the beginning of 1811.

On the 19th of September 1810, the Junta of Carthagena published a manifesto, to prove to the provinces the advantages that would result to New Grenada from the establishment of a federal government. This manifesto dwelt particularly on the perfect freedom of the provinces to adopt any form of government they pleased. This reasoning misled the inhabitants, and produced incalculable mischiefs to the cause of independence, as it was the means of disturbing that union which it was so much the interest of the provinces to maintain. Accordingly, several of the departments entertained the project of separating themselves from their provincial capitals, and forming new provinces of themselves. Among these were San Gil, a department of Socorro, Giron of Pamplona, and Mompox of Carthagena; and, in consequence, Mompox proceeded to form a separate Junta, and to nominate deputies to the Congress of New Grenada. The Government of Carthagena opposed Mompox, and sent an expedition under N. Ayos, who compelled Mompox to renew her former allegiance to Carthagena in January 1811.

About this period, the Junta of Santa Fé received an embassy from that of Caracas, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between them.

Some of the members nominated by the provinces to compose the General Congress, had assembled at Bogota in December 1810. Among these deputies were several of those nominated

by the departments which wished to form separate provinces, to the legality of whose election several of the members objected, upon the score of the inconvenience which would arise from sanctioning these innovations, tending to kindle a civil war between the provincial capitals and the provinces, and multiplying the difficulties they now experienced in forming a government for New Grenada. In these objections the Junta acquiesced; and they agreed to suspend their sittings for the present.

Mompox being subdued by the Junta of Carthagena, and the provinces having openly declared against the absurd pretensions of the departments, the dissensions which were beginning to pervade the provinces were appeased, and the Congress assembled a second time. The representatives of Pamplona, Neyva, Carthagena, and Antioquia, concluded a federal compact at Bogota on the 27th of November 1811, to which the province of Cundinamarça, of which Santa Fé is the capital, refused to accede. The Junta of Santa Fé then convened an assembly of the people, which took the name of Colegio Electoral Constituyente, and presented to the province a constitution, which was ratified by an assembly empowered for that purpose on the 17th of April 1812.

Tacon, the Spanish governor of Popayan, had fled to Los Pastos after his defeat at Palace; and not being able to raise sufficient troops to resist the army sent from Santa Fé, he gave liberty to all

those slaves (and they were very numerous in Los Pastos) who would revolt against their masters. This army was still not formidable enough to keep the field, but was obliged to retreat to the sea-coast, near San Buenaventura. He was pursued by N. Rodriguez, who succeeded Baraya in his command, and completely defeated by him near Isquande in 1811.

We have already described, among occurrences of the year 1809, the formation of the Junta of Quito, and its subsequent dissolution by the combined efforts of the viceroys of New Grenada and Peru. The massacre of the 2d of August had so exasperated the minds of the people of Quito, that, for want of better arms, they attacked with knives and sticks the troops from Lima who fired upon the people. The result would have been ruinous to the Spaniards, had not the president, Count Ruiz de Castillo, and the members of the Audiencia, published an act of oblivion in favour of the inhabitants, and ordered the troops of Lima to leave the city. Montafar, who had been sent as Comisionado Regio with A. Villavicencio by the Regency, to support their authority in New Grenada, and who had come too late to be of any service to them, took advantage of the fears of the Spanish authorities to persuade them to form a Junta, whose president was to be Ruiz de Castillo. The Regency approved of this Junta, the only such approval that took place, but nominated Molina president.

It is now necessary that we should return to Caracas, and relate the affairs that were passing during the year 1811.

The meeting of the Congress took place according to the regulations prescribed by the Junta Suprema on the 2d of March 1811. Previous to the meeting, a committee had been appointed, consisting of Don F. X. Ustariz, Don Fermin Paul, General Miranda, Don J. Roscio, and others, with directions to form a constitution, which was to be submitted to the consideration of Congress. The members of the committee met several times, with the exception of General Miranda, and agreed in the plan of a provisional confederation. Miranda was of a different opinion; and he sent a plan to the committee, which he had intended to present to the South Americans had his expedition succeeded in 1806, and which differed but little from the ancient colonial government.

This circumstance created Miranda many enemies. From the beginning, his influence in public affairs had been feared, although his talents and virtues were held in the highest estimation by the friends of independence. Still there were many who could not conceive that Venezuela could obtain her freedom, without rooting out every old institution that reminded them of their former dependence.

On the 5th of July 1811, some of the members made a motion in the Congress for discussing the

proposition of declaring Venezuela independent of Spain, which was carried on the 5th of July 1811.

On the 11th of the same month was published the Venezuelan Act of Independence, which was not very well drawn up, and is therefore not inserted here.

On the 30th of the same month was published the Manifesto to the world, by the Confederation of Venezuela, in South America, of the reasons on which she has founded her absolute independence of Spain, and of every other foreign power whatever, which being also very ill drawn up, is here omitted.

About this period, the Government was disturbed by alarms of a conspiracy, of which however timely intelligence was received, and the principal persons suspected were arrested.

While these things were going on in Caracas, some Spaniards obtained possession of Valencia, which was garrisoned by a few troops, the inhabitants of which were disaffected to the Congress. Troops were armed and embodied, and every preparation made to resist the Government of Caracas.

The Government was now placed in a very critical situation. Many of the conspirators were taken; but they refused to discover their accomplices. They could not spare troops to proceed against Valencia; for then Caracas would have been left unprotected. In this dilemma, they

determined to call the citizens to arms, and send General Toro to Valencia. He was shortly after succeeded in his command by General Miranda, who, after two successive attacks, in the first of which he was obliged to retiré, succeeded in storming and taking the city. Miranda now offered to proceed with 4000 men against Coro, which still held out for the Spaniards, and the Government willingly agreed to his proposals; but his enemies, who were irritated at his late successes, tried every means to oppose his plans, in which they were too eagerly seconded by the Congress.

The Congress now turned all their attention to the formation of the new constitution. The majority were decidedly for a federal government. In order to ensure its adoption, essays were inserted in the gazettes, and pamphlets were industriously circulated, to prove the advantage resulting from the constitution of the United States. By this means the hopes of the people were raised; and although a constitution more congenial to the habits of the South American people, and more adapted to the circumstances in which they were then placed, might have been formed, the prospect of attaining a degree of prosperity equal to that enjoyed by the United States, silenced every argument that could be urged against it.

After many months of continual discussion, the representative of Venezuela offered for the approbation of the people, on the 23d of December

1811, the promised constitution. It formed a volume, divided into nine chapters. In the first, the Roman Catholic religion was proposed as that of the state. In the second, the Congress was divided into two houses, that of representatives and that of the senate, to be jointly invested with the power of making war and peace, raising armies, &c.: the election of the representatives to be made by the electoral colleges; that of the senate, by the provincial legislatures. The third chapter treated of the executive power, to be vested in three persons to be chosen by the electoral colleges; and these persons possessed the power of nominating generals to the army, and appointing officers to whom the administration and collection of the revenue was to be intrusted, &c. The fourth chapter treated of the supreme court of justice, which was to judge of all matters relating to the federal compacts, of the establishment of the trial by jury, &c. The fifth determined the limits of the provincial authorities, the mutual guarantee of the provinces to each other, and that Guayana and Maracaibo should be admitted into the confederacy, as soon as they were free from Spain. The sixth and seventh proposed that the constitution should be revised, and receive the sanction of the people. The eighth declared the sovereignty of man; the rights of man in society; that foreigners of any nation should be received into Venezuela, provided they would respect the national religion; that the use

of torture should be abolished, &c. The ninth and last was devoted to general subjects.

Like the United States, the Congress set apart a territory in which the confederated authorities were to reside: the town of Valencia was fixed upon, and the Congress there held its sessions at the beginning of March 1812.

While these things were passing in America, the greatest indignation and resentment at the acts of the colonial government pervaded the minds of the Regency and Cortes. War was the prevailing wish of the Government; and this feeling was equally prevalent among the merchants of Cadiz. Troops were dispatched to Coro and Santa Martha, although at that time they were so much wanted for the defence of their own country.

The English Government this year (1811) made another attempt to effect a reconciliation between Spain and her colonies, which was equally ineffectual with the preceding.

Every thing prospered at this period in Caracas. The Government was liked; the military force was upon a respectable footing; and the people were contented. Commerce flourished; and America thought that the period was at last arrived, when she should reap the blessings that invariably accompany the possession of liberty, when a most dreadful earthquake, on Holy Thursday, the 26th of March 1812, laid the whole of the city of Caracas in ruins. During a

minute and fifty seconds, the earth was convulsed in every direction, and near twenty thousand persons perished.

Nothing could have happened more unfortunately. This calamity, which at another period would have passed as a mere convulsion of nature, was eagerly seized hold of by the priests, who had been deprived by the constitution of some valuable privileges, which rendered them hostile to the present order of things; and by them it was construed into a manifestation of divine displeasure upon those who favoured the revolution. These exhortations failed not to produce a great effect, coupled as they were with the circumstance of this catastrophe having taken place on Holy Thursday, the day on which they had renounced their allegiance to the Spanish Government.

These evils were aggravated by some considerable advantages obtained by Monteverde, the Spanish general, which led to the reduction of Carora, then in possession of the patriots. The troops at Barquisimeto were preparing to march against them, when the barracks were thrown down by the earthquake, many of the soldiers buried in the ruins, and their commander Xalon severely wounded. The paper money, likewise, which the Government had been obliged to issue to meet the pressing exigencies of the state, had experienced a considerable discredit since the earthquake.

meet these emergencies, the Congress de-
ed to have recourse to those measures
are generally adopted by republics in diffi-
uations. They resolved to confer on some
a dictatorial power. They immediately
upon General Miranda, to whom they
ie command of the army, and authorized
act in all things as he judged most for the
f his country.

teverde, in the mean time, reduced Bar-
to, Araure, and San Carlos; these two
ices being extremely important, as they
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wns situate in the mountainous parts of
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triot army deserting to him wherever he
is appearance.

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a, had sent against Guayana, have been
ed against Monteverde, he must have been
led to retreat. But they were too distant.
telligence, moreover, of the victories of
verde so dispirited them, and desertion had
made such havock, that although they
pon the point of taking Guayana, they re-
ithout striking any blow of importance.

nda had evacuated Valencia, and had
possession of a strong post called La Ca-
near the Lake of Valencia, which he was
ter obliged to give up, from the treachery

of the inhabitants, who had declared for the royalists, and who had showed them a path by which they might avoid the defile. Miranda in consequence retreated to La Victoria, where his van was attacked by the royalist troops, who were repulsed with considerable loss.

Miranda's judicious conduct was beginning to restore order at Caracas, and discipline in the army, when Porto Cavello was taken possession of by some Spaniards, by the treachery of the officer on guard. Colonel Simon Bolivar, who was at that time governor, judging it imprudent to make an attack upon the fort, set sail for La Guayra with his officers. The loss of this fort was of injurious consequences to the independent cause. By its capture, a communication was opened with Coro and Porto Rico, whence they could receive supplies, which before they had been obliged to draw from the distance of 150 leagues.

General Miranda perceiving that desertion was daily taking place; that the country from which Caracas drew her supplies was in the hands of the royalists; that his army was inferior in number to that of Monteverde, and besides was indifferently armed, the greater part of the guns and ammunition having been buried or destroyed in the earthquake; whilst, on the contrary, Monteverde, in addition to the supplies which he had found at the capture of Porto Cavello, was abundantly provided with every thing, determined, with the approbation of the Executive Power, to

propose a capitulation, the terms of which were agreed to by Monteverde. The following were the articles:—

1. That the constitution offered by the Cortes to the Spanish nation, should be the constitution of Caracas.

2. That no one was to be persecuted on account of former opinions.

3. That all private property was to be held sacred.

4. That emigration was to be permitted to those who wished to quit Venezuela.

Caracas fell in consequence again into the power of the royalists. Miranda and many others proceeded to La Guayra, intending there to embark for Carthagena.—Would to God it were in our power to throw a veil over the succeeding transactions. Suffice it to say, that Miranda, who for thirty years had endeavoured to promote the liberty of his countrymen, was by those countrymen seized and delivered to the Spaniards, who, in defiance of the capitulation, in defiance of rights acknowledged by all civilized nations, threw him with above a thousand others into dungeons at La Guayra and Porto Cavello. Deaf to the common dictates of humanity, they chained this martyr to the cause of liberty to the floor of the prison in which he was confined. From this misery he was afterwards released at the intercession of some British officers. He was then removed to Cadiz.

In consequence of this capitulation, Cumana and Barcelona surrendered to Monteverde; and, to crown his success more completely, he received intelligence, that the expedition against Guayana had completely failed. About the same period, the royalists from Maracaibo obtained possession of the departments of Truxillo and Merida, having repeatedly defeated the troops which, under the command of Paredes, had been left for their defence.

Thus were the Spaniards put once more in possession of this province towards the end of August 1812.

We will now recur to the events which were passing at this period in New Grenada.

This province was disturbed by violent commotions occasioned by the different opinions which prevailed respecting the form of government which would be best adapted to the viceroyalty. Lozano, president of Cundinamarca, was inclined to a federal-form of government, in which he was opposed by the Junta of Carthagena and the Congress. Lozano soon after resigned his situation as president of Cundinamarca; in which office he was succeeded by A. Nariño, who again disapproved of a federal government, and proposed another constitution of his own. To this constitution the provinces of Mariquita, Neyva, and Socorro assented; and Tunja was upon the point of doing the same, when a division of Nariño's troops, under the command of Baraya,

deserted his standard, and asserted the authority of the Congress, which immediately transferred its sessions to Tunja. This gave rise to a civil war between the partisans of the Congress, and those who adhered to Nariño in the beginning of 1812.

The army of the Congress, under the command of Baraya, Ayala, and Ricaute, defeated Nariño's troops at Palo Blanco, in the province of Socorro; and the agents of the Congress succeeded in detaching the provinces of Mariquita and Neyva from Nariño. These successes induced the Congress to establish their sittings permanently at Neyva, to which place they transferred them on the 4th of October 1812. Nariño's troops were a second time defeated at Ventaquemada, and the army of the Congress proceeded to besiege Santa Fé in December 1812. Nariño, who previous to this had sent in his resignation of the presidency, which the national representation refused to accept, offered to surrender the city and retire from New Grenada, provided the besiegers would spare the lives and property of the inhabitants; but they insisted upon its surrendering at discretion, and upon Nariño's refusal, they stormed the city, when they were completely defeated and their army dispersed. To record this signal defeat, a monument was erected at Santa Fé, in the quarter of San Victorino.

Don N. Molina, who had been appointed president of the Junta of Quito by the Regency, entered the territory of Quito at the head of the

troops of Lima, which had withdrawn from Quito after the massacre of the 2d of August. The Junta of Quito refused to allow Molina to proceed unless he disbanded his army, and preferred a complaint to the Cortes, who immediately ordered Molina to desist. This he refused to do, alleging the pretext so often made use of by the Spaniards, that the order had been procured by abreption and subreption, that is, by false arguments concealing the truth. The Junta then ordered the army which it had raised for its protection against the bishop of Cuença, to proceed under the command of Montafar, who was entirely defeated by the royalists of Cuença; and Don N. Montes, who succeeded Molina, entered Quito on the 6th of November, laying waste all before him. Not contented with the mortality which this occasioned, he dispatched troops after the bishop, nuns, and other persons who had taken to flight, and in the mean time put to death one in five of the inhabitants who had been left to defend the city. This bloody scene is described by Montes himself in a letter of the 11th of November to the governor of Guayaquil.

Monteverde, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants, who were heartily tired of the scenes of turbulence and revolution which they had been witnesses of for these last two years, thought only of glutting his vengeance. Every royalist became a public accuser; and the greatest crime was to have belonged to

the republican party. Every prison was filled with patriots; other buildings were converted into prisons; and it really might be said with some appearance of truth, that the whole population was under confinement. These severe measures were approved of by the Cortes of Spain, and Don Juan O'Donaju, minister of war, in his report to the Cortes, on the 2d of October 1813, speaks "of the indulgence that had been shown to the insurgents of Caracas."

The royalists of Santa Martha were not idle at this period. They determined to take advantage of the disturbances which prevailed amongst the people of Carthagena, on account of the circulation of the paper money, and the stagnation of commerce, arising from the disturbed state of the interior provinces. They succeeded in taking possession of the departments of Tolu and San Benitos. These successes caused great alarm at Carthagena, which was much heightened by the intelligence received, that Venezuela was in possession of Monteverde, and that a civil war was raging between Nariño and the Congress.—An English frigate, the Garland, arrived at that time with proposals on behalf of Don Benito Peres, the viceroy appointed by the Spanish Government, from the English admiral at Jamaica, who offered the Garland to convey the deputies from Carthagena to Panama, in case they should meet with the approval of the Carthagenian Government. They did; and J. M. del Real and G. Pineres

were appointed to treat with the viceroy. They accordingly embarked for Chagres, thence to proceed to Panama. When they arrived there, they were immediately put into confinement; and it was only at the earnest intercession of the British admiral that they were permitted to embark, after having been kept eight weeks in confinement.

The Government of Carthagena were determined to employ every means in their power to oppose the Spaniards. For this purpose, they dispatched Gutierrez Moreno to the West India Islands, with offers of letters of marque to those who should be willing to equip privateers under their flag. He succeeded in sending to Carthagena many officers and some privateers, which greatly annoyed the Spanish commerce in that quarter. Their army was disciplined by officers who had emigrated from Caracas, and divided into two bodies, one of which was commanded by Cortes Campomanes, a Spaniard; the other by Labattu, a Frenchman. Cortes reconquered the departments of Tolu and San Benitos; and Labattu succeeded in dispossessing the Spaniards of San Antonio, El Peñon, Guaymaco, and other fortified points on the river Magdalena. He likewise succeeded in obtaining possession of Santa Martha, on the 6th of January 1813. It was in Labattu's power now to drive the royalists from the province of Rio de la Hacha, which, had it been effected, would have consolidated the power of the independents in this quarter; but his con-

duct towards the inhabitants of Santa Martha had been so impolitic, that they revolted against him, though there was a considerable party for independence. Instead of attempting to recover and secure his conquest, which might have been effected with facility, as the harbour was in his possession, with a considerable naval force, he precipitately embarked for Carthagena, leaving it in possession of the royalists, who had now received reinforcements from Porto Bello, Havannah, and Maracaibo.

The Government then equipped another expedition under the command of Chàtillon, a French officer, who attacked the royalists at Papares; but was repulsed, taken prisoner, and put to death. A third expedition was then sent under Labattu, which again failed. The Government of Carthagena then remained satisfied with acting on the defensive, protecting its own frontier, and the navigation of the river Magdalena, which had been much interrupted, and latterly quite intercepted by the royalists.

Samano, who, after the taking of Quito, had been appointed to the command of the Spanish army by Montes, in his way to Santa Fé took the town of Popayan. The royalists of Los Pastos had previously to this taken prisoner Don J. Caycedo, president of the Junta of Quito, and Macauley, a North American, who commanded the army of Popayan, together with many others, who were all shortly after put to death. The

Congress of New Grenada and Nariño, though before at variance, were unanimous in their determination of resistance to the royalists; and their united troops, which amounted to 8000 men, marched to meet the enemy, under the command of Nariño, who had been appointed dictator for that purpose. Nariño routed the Spaniards in the battle which was fought in El Alto del Palace, and Samano retreated to Tumbo; whence, having been reinforced by a division of his army which had not engaged in the late battle, he proceeded to Popayan, and encamped his army at Calibio. Nariño, having divided his army into three corps, immediately attacked the Spaniards, and gave them a signal defeat. Aymeric was appointed successor to Samano, and took the command of the army, which he reinforced with some fresh troops he had brought from Quito. Nariño organized a popular government, and proceeded to Pastos.

In his way to Pastos, which is eighty leagues distant from Popayan, Nariño attacked El Alto de Juanambu, Los Tacines, and Aranda, all of which places he successively reduced, though not without sustaining considerable loss. Nariño had nearly reached the town of Pastos, to which he was advancing at the head of one division of his army, when the enemy's spies spread a report among the remainder of the army, that Nariño had been attacked, defeated, and made prisoner. This caused great consternation among the troops;

and the enemy being apprized of it, sent a detachment against Nariño, and verified the former premature report, by making him prisoner. This event happened in the month of June 1814, and was of considerable injury to the independent army: so much so, that all Don J. M. Cabal's prudence and valour with difficulty enabled him to effect a retreat to Popayan, to which place he was closely pursued by the Spanish troops under Aymeric.

Don A. Nariño is one of those ardent lovers of their country who long desired and endeavoured to promote its independence. His opinions and wishes, too freely expressed, caused his imprisonment in the year 1794, together with many of his friends, distinguished young men of Santa Fé de Bogota. Duran, Cabal, Cortes, Umana, Nariño, Zea, (now minister from Colombia to the courts of Europe), and others, were at that time sent to Spain under an escort. Nariño made his escape in the very act of landing at Cadiz, and presented himself to the Government at Madrid. Notwithstanding this act of submission, Nariño was going again to be put under arrest, when he again escaped, and went to France; whence he came to England, where he arrived at the very period when Mr Pitt's plan for separating Tierra Firme from the Spanish Government was in contemplation, in 1796. Then Nariño returned to New Grenada *incognito*, with the view of carrying it into effect; but he was discovered, and

confined many years, during which he suffered all the hardships of poverty, close imprisonment, &c. He at last regained his liberty, on condition he should not quit Santa Fé, and should always be accompanied by a soldier. When the war in Spain broke out, the Government of Santa Fé, being afraid of his uncommon powers of persuasion, as well as of the credit he possessed, had him arrested, and ordered him to be sent to Carthagena; but Nariño again escaped, and went to Santa Martha. There he was discovered by a Spaniard, who acquainted the governor. He immediately had the former orders enforced, and Nariño was thrown into the dungeons of Boca Chica. When the Revolution took place he was released; but his health was greatly impaired, and his legs had suffered much from the fetters he had worn during his confinement. It is wonderful that when he was taken prisoner he was not executed, as almost all the prisoners were at that time; but he was conducted to Quito, thence to Lima, and afterwards to La Carraca in Cadiz. Thence he was released at the time of the late Revolution in Spain, and by that means is still enabled to devote to his country the remainder of a life which has been unceasingly employed in the cause of liberty and independence.

We must now return to the narrative of the events which happened in Venezuela during the years 1813 and 1814. The inhabitants were so exasperated at the revengeful and cruel conduct

of the Spaniards, that they determined to renew their efforts for independence. Cumana was the first province that showed the example of resistance to the intolerable oppressions of Monteverde. Don N. Marino, an active and courageous young man, rallied the discontented, and took the town of Maturin. He was there attacked by the Spaniards, who were repulsed. Monteverde determined to proceed against him in person, and made a second attack in the beginning of April, in which he was completely defeated.

Don Simon Bolivar, one of the most distinguished natives of Caracas, had obtained from the Congress of New Grenada near 600 men; and with these he crossed the Andes, situate near the provinces of Tunja and Pamplona, and advanced to the Tachira, the boundary of New Grenada, determined if possible to effect the deliverance of his country.

As Bolivar is one of the most distinguished characters that have taken part in the Revolution of Colombia, it is necessary that we should introduce him more particularly to the reader's notice.

Bolivar went to Spain in the early part of his life, and was among the very few Creoles to whom the court of Madrid granted the permission of visiting France and Italy. When the Revolution took place in Caracas, he was commissioned by the Supreme Junta to proceed to London, to solicit the protection of the British cabinet for the newly-formed Government.

Upon his return to Caracas, Bolivar, not approving of the plan of policy pursued at that time by the Congress, declined meddling in public affairs, and lived in great retirement. The danger that threatened his country after the earthquake called him from his seclusion, and he was appointed by Miranda to the post of governor of Porto Cavello; which place was unfortunately lost while under his command. The capitulation which was afterwards concluded by Miranda was not with the approval of Bolivar;. and a short time after the royalists had entered Caracas, he obtained a passport by special favour from Monteverde, with which he embarked, and proceeded to Curaçoa. From this island he sailed to Carthagena, where he was intrusted by the Government with the command of one division of the troops. Having freed the banks of the Magdalena from the power of the royalists in 1812, he took the road to Ocaña. At the same time he sent his second in command, Colonel Rivas, to Tunja, where the Congress of New Grenada was then sitting, to ask for reinforcements to enable him to penetrate into Venezuela, which he obtained.

Bolivar with his little army took the royalists by surprise at Cúcuta, and routed them. Thence he dispatched N. Briceño with some officers to Guadualito, where he raised a body of cavalry, with which he invaded the province of Varinas; while Bolivar himself took possession of the department of Merida, after having defeated the

royalists at La Grita. Briceño was shortly after completely defeated, and himself and several of his officers taken prisoners. He was soon after executed by Tiscar, the governor of Varinas; and eight of the most respectable inhabitants of that town were shot, being accused of having endeavoured to facilitate the enterprise of Briceño. This conduct exasperated Bolivar, who from that moment resolved to retaliate upon all the prisoners that should fall in his power. The war henceforward went by the name of the war of death—*guerra a muerte.*

Bolivar divided his army, which had considerably augmented, and was daily increasing, into two bodies, one of which he placed under the command of Colonel Rivas. Both corps directed their march towards Caracas, through the departments of Truxillo and Varinas. The royalists were beaten in several engagements, and at Lastoguanes, where Monteverde had assembled his best troops, they were completely defeated. This victory was principally owing to the desertion of Monteverde's cavalry. The Spanish general then withdrew to Puerto Cabello with the remnant of his troops. Bolivar lost no time, but instantly advanced upon Caracas, where the inhabitants anxiously awaited him as their deliverer. Fieno, the Spanish governor, in the mean time assembled a Junta, composed of the Audiencia, clergy, and the principal officers of the garrison, who decided upon sending commissioners to Bolivar. The

commissioners met Bolivar at La Victoria, and he accepted the treaty. After the capitulation, he promised that no one should suffer for his former attachment to the Spanish Government, and that every one was at liberty to quit Venezuela, and withdraw his effects.

The following proclamation, dated 16th of August 1813, was published a few days after his entry into Caracas, which took place on the 4th, containing an invitation to all foreigners to enter into the service of the Republic.

Republic of Venezuela.

Simon Bolivar, Brigadier-General of the Union, and Commander-in-chief of the Army destined to give Liberty to the Provinces of Venezuela.

The Provinces of Venezuela having entered a second time into the enjoyment of their liberty and independence, which was momentarily usurped from them by a handful of Spaniards, who have characterized their Government with horrid crimes and infamous injustice, in which was included that of robbing, persecuting, and banishing those distinguished foreigners who justly merited the protection and consideration of Government, in our first political transformation; and as the conduct of a free people ought to be entirely opposite to that which has been observed by our enemies, who have been, and always will be, inimical to the prosperity and happiness of America,—

I have accordingly determined,

First, To invite again all foreigners, of whatever nation and profession they may be, to come and establish themselves in these provinces under the immediate protection of Government,

who will afford it to them openly and frankly, fully persuaded that the fertility of our soil, its various and precious productions, the mildness of our climate, and a prudent administration, which will afford them personal security and the sacred rights of property, ought to bestow all the advantages and comforts they could desire in their own countries:

Secondly, That any stranger who inlists under our flag to defend the cause of liberty and independence, is declared by right a citizen of Venezuela, and his services shall be recompensed in a competent manner.

Given at Head-quarters, Caracas; registered by the Secretary of State for foreign affairs, and sealed with the seal of the Republic, 16th of August 1813; 3d of the Independence.

SIMON BOLIVAR.

Antonio Muños Tebar, Secretary of State.

The governor of Caracas, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty, embarked at La Guayra, carrying off all the treasure, both public and private, that he could collect, and leaving to the mercy of the conqueror about 1500 Spaniards who had not been able to emigrate. The articles of the treaty were sent to Monteverde at Puerto Cabello, who refused to ratify them, " because it was derogatory to the dignity of the Spanish nation to treat with insurgents."

The provinces composing what was then called the Republic of Venezuela, were now in the possession of the patriots; Marino having effected the deliverance of the eastern provinces, while Bolivar liberated those of the west. Puerto Cabello alone remained in possession of the Spaniards towards the end of August 1813. Bolivar at this

time sent a flag of truce to Monteverde, to propose an exchange of prisoners. Although the prisoners in Bolivar's power were much superior in number to those of Monteverde, still the Spanish general obstinately persisted in refusing to treat with Bolivar.

Monteverde having received a reinforcement of 1200 Spanish troops from Europe, and conceiving himself sufficiently strong to act offensively, attacked the patriots at Aguacaliente, and was completely defeated. Nearly all the Spaniards were killed or taken prisoners; and Monteverde himself was severely wounded in the action. His troops retreated to Puerto Cabello; and Salomon took the command of them, in consequence of Monteverde's wound.

Bolivar made the same offer to Salomon which he had previously made to Monteverde. Salomon, determined to outdo even his predecessor in breach of faith, imprisoned the messenger, after having loaded him with fetters, in the dungeons of Puerto Cabello. Isueta, his successor, went still farther: to prevent the besiegers from firing upon his line, he exposed the South American prisoners to the fire of their batteries, and in the night they were thrown into pontoons, where nearly fifty at one time died of suffocation. The besiegers retaliated, by exposing the Spanish prisoners before their line of battle. The Spaniards then conducted four American prisoners in front of the patriot encampment, and there publicly

shot them. The names of those distinguished patriots were, Pellin, Osorio, Pointet, and the generous Manuel Pulido. This necessarily closed all further communication between the contending parties.

The garrison of Puerto Cabello still held out; and although it wanted provisions, they would listen to no terms of capitulation. The royalists of Coro, having been reinforced by some troops from Puerto Rico, sallied out under the command of Cevallos, and defeated the patriots at Barquisimeto on the 10th of November. Bolivar marched confidently against them, and defeated them successively at Vigirima, Barbula, and lastly at Araure on the 5th of December. The battle of Barbula cost the patriots dear, for there they lost the young Girardot, who had distinguished himself greatly in the fields of Palace, of Cúcuta, of Taguanes in Venezuela, and of Bogota in New Grenada. Bolivar, then named El Libertador de Venezuela, ordered an annual mourning, in consideration of this sad loss; and a pension was assigned to the family of Girardot for ever.

Bolivar, when he invaded Venezuela under the protection of the Congress of New Grenada, had received orders to re-establish the Republican Congress. This Bolivar did not conceive it advisable to do; and the country, during the time it was in possession of the patriots, remained under a military government. Although Bolivar never

availed himself improperly of the power he possessed, this could not always be said of his inferior officers. The very best military government is insupportable, and the murmurs against it were so general, that in order to quell these discontents, Bolivar determined to convene an assembly of the magistrates, ecclesiastical dignitaries, municipality, colleges, board of trade, and all the proprietors of land, on the 2d of January 1814. To this assembly Bolivar gave an account of his operations and intentions in the invasion of Venezuela, and then resigned the supreme authority which he held. He was, however, reinvested by the assembly with the dictatorial power, at the suggestion of Don C. Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the firmest supporters of the independent cause, in which he was seconded by Don A. Rodriguez, president of the municipality, and Don Alzum, until the reunion of the provinces of Venezuela to those of New Grenada under the same form of government.

The Spaniards being unable to subdue the province of Venezuela, resolved to lay waste and destroy it. The governor of Guayana, and the royal chiefs of Puerto Cabello, resolved to raise the slaves in rebellion against their masters. To accomplish this scheme, many partisans of the Spanish Government were sent into the interior of the country. The most obnoxious of these were Boves, Vanez, Rosette, Puy, and Palomo. The first were Spaniards; the last a Negro, who had

been outlawed as a robber and assassin. Boves and Rosette were supplied with arms and ammunition by the governor of Guayana, and were thus enabled to carry their plan into effect in the eastern part of the province of Caracas. Puy and Palomo received assistance from the governors of Coro, Puerto Cabello, and Maracaibo; and the western part of the provinces of Caracas, Varinas, Merida, and Truxillo, was fixed upon for their scene of action. They regularly corresponded with the Spanish chiefs; and some of their letters fell into Bolivar's hands, who by that means discovered the whole plan.

By promising liberty to all the slaves, who in Venezuela amounted to near seventy thousand, and by inlisting all those vagabonds who chose to present themselves, which in a country but thinly peopled, and which had been engaged in war for nearly three years, were very numerous, a body of men was easily raised, alarming both from their number and ferocity. By their means Puy and Palomo subdued Varinas, Guanare, and some other towns. In Varinas, Puy committed an act of cruelty which we will relate to our readers, in order to show the spirit with which he and his men were actuated. After the battle of Araure, in which Cevallos was beaten, a division of Bolivar's army marched to Varinas, to which place Puy had retired, trembling for his life. He had ordered five hundred and seventy-four persons whom he considered as disaffected, to be arrested.

Of these, five hundred were shot without any form of trial, when one of Puy's aid-de-camps gave the alarm, asserting that the republicans were approaching the town. Puy inquired anxiously whether he should have time to execute the remaining seventy-four prisoners? The aid-de-camp answered, No; and they were thus saved. Some time after, the republicans evacuated Varinas, and Puy entered, spreading desolation around him, and making a general massacre of its inhabitants.

Boves and Rosette directed their march from the Orinoco to the valleys of Tuy and Aragua. The horrors they committed in their progress are hardly credible, and future ages will wonder that such monsters could have existed in the shape of men. In an extent of 400 miles from the banks of the Orinoco to the environs of Caracas, they did not spare one human being, but butchered all those who refused to join them. By these desperate means they raised a body of 8000 men, only 50 of whom were Europeans and Canarians, a few men of colour, and the rest slaves. They proceeded like a torrent, throwing down every thing they met in their way. Boves took possession of La Vittoria, Rosette of Ocumare, both which towns are but a short distance from Caracas. Yanez and Puy having conquered Varinas, effected a junction with Boves and Rosette in the beginning of February 1814.

At this juncture the Spanish prisoners at La Guayra and Caracas entered into a conspiracy

against the Government. Bolivar's troops were few compared with those of the enemy; and he dared not call out the garrisons of La Guayra and Caracas, from fear of the prisoners who were confined there, and from a dread that the slaves, who were but too well disposed, would rise against their masters. Intelligence of the massacre of the inhabitants of Ocumare, three of whom were murdered in the church, arriving at the same time, so fired with indignation the mind of Bolivar, already overpowered by the agonizing cares incidental to the critical situation in which he then stood, that in a moment of frenzy he gave orders for the execution of the prisoners, and nearly 800 men were killed on this occasion. When information of these executions was received by the governor of Puerto Cabello, all the prisoners then in his possession were put to death.

Bolivar again took the field, and defeated Boves at La Vittoria; Colonel Rivas routed Rosette on the banks of the Tuy, and Yanez was killed at Ospinos. Boves and Rosette soon rallied their forces, and again marched against Caracas. Marino, who had marched from Cumana to the assistance of Bolivar, and had joined a division of his troops under Montilla, repulsed the royalists at Boca Chica. A few days before, Bolivar had defeated the royalists at San Mateo; and these two victories obliged the royalists to raise the siege of Valencia.

After these losses, Boves retired to Los Llanos; and Cevallos, who commanded the besieging army

at Valencia, retreated to San Carlos, to which Marino pursued him; but having been repulsed in an attack he made on the 16th of April, he retreated to Valencia. Cagigal, who had been appointed Captain-General of Venezuela in room of Monteverde, brought reinforcements from Coro, and having united all the divisions under Cevallos, Calzada, and others, advanced towards this latter place, with the intention of giving the independents battle. On the 28th of May 1814 the armies came to action. The battle was maintained with the greatest obstinacy on both sides, but at last the advantage turned to the side of the independents; the royalists were entirely routed, they lost a large store of arms and ammunition, and left 500 men on the field of battle, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

Bolivar, considering himself secure in the possession of Venezuela, turned his attention now towards Coro and Los Llanos; hoping by the reduction of these points to destroy the remaining hopes of the royalists, as it was from these places that the Spaniards drew their resources. For this purpose Urdaneta marched against Coro with five hundred men; Marino was dispatched with about the same number against San Fernando de Apure in Varinas; and the general in chief remained with the third part of his army, in order to oppose Boves, who had been at the action of Carabobo, and who was advancing with a numerous body of cavalry against Bolivar.

Had the royalists waited for this corps, they might probably have gained the last battle; and had not Bolivar divided his troops, Boves would unquestionably have been conquered by the patriots' superiority of discipline.

In a few days the three divisions of the army were far distant from each other. Bolivar was successfully attacked by Boves, and compelled, after many hours' hard fighting, to abandon the field. Cagigal and Calzada having rallied some of their dispersed troops, attacked Marino's division, and compelled him, having cut off his communication with Caracas, to retire to Cumana. When Urdaneta received intelligence of these defeats, he was at too great a distance to be able to give any assistance to Caracas; he therefore withdrew with his troops to Cúcuta, on the frontiers of Santa Fé.

From this moment confusion reigned amongst the patriots. There was now no army for the protection of Caracas. The people were discontented with Bolivar's military government, and the inhabitants of Los Llanos, displeased with the conduct of Don J. Campo Elias, who had put to death many of their countrymen taken prisoners in a preceding engagement, openly espoused the royal cause. The siege of Puerto Cabello was raised; and the army embarked for Cumana, whither Bolivar proceeded with the remnant of his troops, attended by nearly the whole population of Caracas, who dreaded the

barbarity of Boves and his followers. Boves advanced to Caracas and La Guayra, which surrendered to him in July 1814. Valencia still held out, and the royalists laid siege to it; but the garrison seeing no hopes of relief, accepted the terms of capitulation offered by the besiegers. Being warned against the want of faith of the royal commanders, they desired that a solemn mass should be celebrated before the two armies, and that, before the host, the royalist general should take an oath to comply religiously with the terms of the capitulation. This being done, the town was delivered up; and, soon after, the republican officers, together with a great part of the soldiers, were shot!

Boves pursued and came up with the patriot army in Barcelona, which he defeated at Araguita. Success no longer attended the arms of Bolivar; and the commander of his flotilla, stationed to protect the coast, refused to obey his orders. Considering all hope lost, he embarked with some of his chosen officers for Carthagena. Rivas and Bermudez, with some few troops, separated from him, and repaired to Maturin. There they were soon joined by all those patriots who knew they could expect no quarter, should they be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the Spaniards. They were there attacked by Morales, and afterwards by Boves, who were both repulsed with great slaughter. Rivas and Bermudez obtained many advantages over the royalists

in subsequent engagements, but the royalists succeeded at last in conquering them at Urica on the 5th of December 1814. Maturin then fell into their power; but they had to deplore the loss of their favourite Boves. Rivas was taken prisoner and shot, and his head sent to Caracas, where it was publicly exhibited. Bermudez embarked for the island of Margarita, where he maintained the republican government until the arrival of the expedition from Spain under the command of Morillo.

This expedition consisted of 10,000 men, embarked at Cadiz in near fifty transport ships, convoyed by two frigates. This armament was fitted out by the beloved Ferdinand, who had been released by Bonaparte, and who issued a decree in June 1814, commanding the Americans to lay down their arms. All hopes of reconciliation were now at an end; and many who till that period had supported the rights of Ferdinand VII. now perceived that there was no prospect of obtaining any alleviation of their grievances—that there was no alternative but slavery or liberty—and joined the standard of independence.

Intelligence of the retreat of the army of Popayan, of the victories of Boves against the republicans of Venezuela, of the re-establishment of King Ferdinand VII. reached the Congress of New Grenada about the same time. The dangers that threatened the independence of America were now seen in their true colours; and a pro-

clamation was issued, in which, after having recapitulated the vicissitudes suffered by the armies of the Republics, and the situation of military affairs in New Grenada, the Congress called upon the people to use their utmost exertions to repel the Spaniards, who would reduce them to that state of abject slavery from which they had lately so happily emerged. This document bears date 1st September 1814.

Notwithstanding the present critical state of affairs, Don Bernardo Alvarez, who had succeeded Nariño in the presidency of Cundinamarca, still persisted in refusing to accede to the confederacy, although his refusal considerably impeded the excellent measures the Congress was taking for the defence of the country. Alvarez understanding that the voice of the people of the province was against him, agreed to send deputies to treat with the Congress about the union of Santa Fé. A treaty was concluded, which Alvarez refused to ratify. He then proposed an alliance, which the Congress declined accepting.

At the end of the year 1814 Bolivar arrived at Tunja, where the Congress then held its sessions. The provinces in confederacy with each other, which acted under the direction of the general Government, determined to compel the province of Cundinamarca to submit to its authority. That division of the army of Venezuela which had retired to Cúcuta after the defeat of

Bolivar at La Puerta, was ordered to Tunja; and, being there reinforced, marched under the direction of Bolivar, in December 1814, against Santa Fé. The city was stormed, and the principal suburbs were in Bolivar's possession, when Alvarez accepted the capitulation offered him, by which it was agreed, that Cundinamarca should join the confederated provinces, enjoying the same rights and privileges they possessed. The Electoral College then assembled, and having ratified the capitulation, invited the Congress to fix its residence there, which it soon after did.

The Congress now possessed full power. They proceeded to pass several regulations, to enable them to proceed more vigorously against the Spaniards. They vested the executive power in three persons, nominated by the Congress, Don M. R. Torices, Garcia Rubria, and M. Pey, well known for their republican principles and distinguished talents. They likewise issued several decrees, containing provisions for the election of members to the Congress, &c. together with other wise ordinances for the interior economy of the state.

The Congress now enjoyed every prospect of future prosperity. Many of the burdens most oppressive to the people had been removed; and the people were pleased with, and placed confidence in the wisdom and vigour of the Government. They eagerly contributed with their persons and property to assist it; and the friars of

Saint Dominic gave a noble example of patriotism, by yielding to the Government a great part of the silver which they had been collecting for years, and heaping up in the sanctuary of Chiquinquirà. The Congress, to prevent the intrigues of the Spaniards, decreed their expulsion from the confederated provinces, leaving to them at the same time the free disposal of their property.

The Congress ordered reinforcements to be sent to Cabal, who, with the army of Popayan, was checking the progress of the royalists. Urdaneta likewise received reinforcements to protect the province of Pamplona, which the royalists of Maracaibo had often attempted to subdue. Santa Martha was the third territory possessed by the royalists, and to its reduction the principal attention of the confederation was addressed. To have possessed Santa Martha would have enabled the Congress to make a vigorous resistance to the expedition of Morillo, then fitting out at Cadiz, should it be destined against New Grenada. Bolivar had been appointed Captain-general of the armies of New Grenada and Venezuela, and commanded the troops destined against Santa Martha. But the difference which arose in consequence of the opposition manifested by the Government of Carthagena at Bolivar's appointment, and his resentment of that opposition by laying siege to Carthagena, defeated the plans made by the Congress, and rendered useless the exertions of the provinces.

The royalists obtained possession of a great part of the province, while the independents were fighting at the gates of the city to settle their private animosities; and Morillo arrived just in time to take advantage of the confusion these civil disturbances created. Bolivar capitulated with the Government of Carthagena, and quitted the province; leaving his troops for the defence of the city, much diminished by the war and the malignity of the climate.

Availing himself of these circumstances, Morillo besieged Carthagena; and the Government of Santa Fé had no power of affording aid to the city.—Great exertions were nevertheless made to resist the royalists, who were invading the provinces in three different quarters. Every individual exerted himself to the utmost; but the royalist force was so overwhelming, that no troops the patriots could collect were able to resist their progress. Carthagena was taken by the royalists; and notwithstanding their arduous fighting at Cachiri and Los Remedios, they were every-where conquered, and Morillo made his triumphant entry into Santa Fé de Bogota in June 1816.

The affairs of the royalists, however, at this period, in spite of their successes, were by no means in a flourishing condition, as appears from a letter from Morillo to the minister of war in Spain, dated the 7th of March 1816, found on board the schooner La Leona, bound to Cadiz from Havannah, when captured by a Buenos-

Ayrian privateer. He there complains of the obstinate resistance he every-where met with, of their abhorrence to the Spanish name, and the hatred which every-where prevailed, even among the clergy, to the Spanish Government. He further stated the impossibility of ulterior success, or even of retaining what he was then in possession of, unless supplies in men, arms, and ammunition, were immediately sent out from Spain.

In the mean time, Bolivar had proceeded to Jamaica to fit out an expedition to assist Carthagena. With this intention he embarked for Aux Cayes, but the capture of Carthagena prevented the execution of his plan, and he again turned his attention to Venezuela.

The haughty deportment of the Spaniards at Caracas, had induced many of the Creoles, who at first had been willing to fight under their banners, to desert. These joining the soldiers who were disbanded, or had dispersed after the battle of Urica, formed different corps of guerillas. These soldiers, for they cannot be properly called troops, commanded by Monagas, Piar, Roxas, Saraza, Llanos, and others, occupied the interior of the provinces of Guayana, Cumana, Barcelona, Caracas, and Varinas, harassing the Spanish detachments which occasionally pursued them, and which they frequently defeated.

Such was the state of Venezuela, when Arismendi again raised the standard of revolt in the island of Margarita; and having several times

beaten the Spanish garrison, took possession of a part of that island, at the same time that Morillo took possession of Carthagena.

Flattered with the hope of more favourable prospects, Bolivar planned an expedition which might assist the patriots of Margarita; and joining himself to Brion, a native of Curaçoa, who had served on board the Venezuelan flotilla, and had been naturalized a citizen of Carthagena for his services in that province, he assembled the emigrants from Venezuela, and part of the garrison that had evacuated Carthagena. Brion, who was a man of property, defrayed the expenses that were incurred: for this reason he was intrusted with the command of the maritime forces, which consisted of two ships of war and thirteen transports, most of them armed with guns, having near a thousand troops on board. They sailed from Aux Cayes at the end of March 1816, and in the beginning of May landed at Margarita, having first taken two Spanish ships of war, after a very bloody engagement, in which Brion was wounded. The Spaniards abandoned nearly the whole of the island, retaining only the fortress of Pampatar.

From Margarita Bolivar sailed for Carupano, a town a few leagues west of Cumana, of which he dispossessed the royalists; and having armed many of the troops of guerillas that advanced to join him, they sailed for Ocumare, which, together with Choroni, are two ports situate between La

Guayra and Puerto Cabello. Near these ports are many plantations cultivated by slaves. To these Bolivar addressed a proclamation, offering them their liberty, dated Ocumare, July 6. 1816. He then landed his vanguard at Choroni, and proceeded with the remainder and landed at Ocumare. Sir Gregor M'Gregor, who commanded the vanguard, took Maracay and La Cabrera, and was proceeding to La Vittoria, when Morales, who had been dispatched by Morillo to Venezuela as soon as he received intelligence of Bolivar's expedition, arrived just in time to resist the patriots. Morales, seeing Bolivar's army separated by a distance of some leagues, attacked the rear-guard, commanded by Bolivar in person; and after a severe action, in which the patriots lost 200 men, with their best officers, Bolivar was compelled to re-embark. Sir Gregor M'Gregor, in consequence of Bolivar's absence, changed the previous destination of his army, and took the road to Barcelona by the plains. He now found himself in considerable danger after the defeat of Bolivar; but this he overcame by his knowledge of the country, and the confidence with which he inspired his troops.

The royalists pursued him furiously, after the defeat of Bolivar, and had dispatched all their troops to effect his destruction, cut off as he was from all places whence he could expect support. Nevertheless he succeeded in repulsing the royalists at Alacran, and completely defeated them at

Juncal. These victories put him in possession of Barcelona, by which means M'Gregor could open a communication with the patriot generals in the provinces of Cumana and Guayana.

The Spaniards evacuated Pampatar on the 2d of November; and the island of Margarita being in consequence completely free, General Arismendi disbanded his troops, and sailed to join the patriots in Barcelona. Bolivar, who after the defeat at Ocumare had returned to Aux Cayes, sailed, bringing reinforcements to Margarita, where he landed in December 1816. There he published a proclamation, convoking the inhabitants of Venezuela to a general Congress, and went afterwards to Barcelona, where he organized a provisional government. In this place he was attacked in February and March 1817; but he repulsed them with great loss.

On the 11th of April Piar defeated the royalists at Guayana, compelling them to shut themselves up in Guayana la Vieja, and in the town of Angostura. Paez likewise obtained considerable advantages, near San Fernando de Apure, in a battle fought with the royalists, who to the number of 2000 were coming down from Santa Fé, under the command of Morillo, to reinforce those of Caracas. The patriots nevertheless lost the town of Barcelona on the 7th of April.

In the following month a reinforcement of 1600 men arrived from Spain. Paez, however, took possession of Calabozo; and by that means the

whole of the plains of the provinces of Guayana, Varinas, Cumana, Barcelona, and Caracas, were in the possession of the patriots.

On the 5th of June Brion sailed from Pampatar with his squadron, to co-operate with Bolivar and Piar in besieging Angostura, which surrendered on the 17th of July, after having been rigorously blockaded since the 17th of April. Marino defeated the Spaniards about this time near Cariaco; their loss being estimated at 400 men.

Morillo had now received positive orders from Madrid to take possession of Margarita. The Spanish Government were well aware of the importance of this island, and they clearly perceived that all their efforts on the Main would be of little effect, so long as the patriots maintained their dominion there. Its position, at so short a distance from the main-land, the hardy and invincible spirit of its inhabitants, resolute in the cause of independence, rendered it an invaluable possession to the patriots, who constantly repaired there to recruit their forces, to receive supplies of arms, ammunition, &c. from England, and to fit out fresh expeditions against the Spanish coast.

To prevent these expeditions from landing was impossible in the circumstances in which Morillo then was, with a considerable patriot army in front. He therefore determined to make an attack upon Margarita as the fountain-head, with a considerable body of troops. He accordingly

landed there, and took possession of Pampatar, and some other places, which the inhabitants had evacuated at his approach. They retired to the mountains. Thence they issued down in small parties, and kept up a guerilla warfare with the Spanish forces, who suffered much from want of provision, the island being excessively barren, and depending upon the Main for supplies. Morillo, unable to obtain possession of Assumption, whither Gomez the independent governor had retired, was at last obliged to evacuate the island, after having remained there a month and a half, during which period he had committed the most horrible acts of cruelty and oppression.

In October the independents received a seasonable supply of officers, troops, ammunition, &c. from England.

In this month, likewise, a court-martial was held to try General Piar, who had taken Angostura. It appeared upon the trial, that he had been tampering with the Mulattoes (he was a Mulatto himself) in order to raise a civil war, and place himself at the head of affairs, in opposition to Bolivar and the whites. He was found guilty and condemned to be shot. However we may regret the loss of such a man as Piar, to whom the Republic was so largely indebted, still it was absolutely necessary, at a time when union was essential to the ultimate success of their enterprise, that the least infraction of that union should be severely punished.

In the same month, Bolivar, who was now recognized as Supreme Chief, published a law for the distribution of the national property amongst his followers, according to the rank they held in the army. This distribution was to be made by a special committee, of which the Government was to have the direction.

In the preceding month Bermudez had left Angostura, to supersede Mariño in his command, who was to come there in order to take his trial for various acts of disobedience to the executive power. He was shortly after, however, reinstated in his command, having fully recognized Bolivar as Supreme Chief, both civil and military.

Bolivar having received a dispatch from Saraza, stating that Morillo had advanced to Sebastian de los Reyes, with the view of collecting his forces at Calabozo, suspended the expedition which he was then preparing against San Fernando de Apure, and marched against Morillo with 5000 troops, leaving Paez to continue the blockade of San Fernando.

Bolivar, previous to his departure, organized a provisional government at Angostura for the administration of affairs, until a Congress could be installed.

On the 31st of January 1818 he formed a junction with Paez, at the mouths of the Apure. They then advanced against Morillo, who was encamped at Calabozo. He attacked Morillo on the 12th of February, and forced him to take refuge in the

town. The Spaniards lost their baggage, &c. The town was then invested by the patriot army, when Morillo evacuated it in the night of the 14th, and fled. Bolivar instantly pursued; and on the 16th attacked them again at Sombrero, where some hard fighting took place. He succeeded, however, at last in forcing them to retreat to Barbacoas, and then to Cumatagua.

Bolivar sent a division in pursuit, with which he occupied the valleys of Aragua. Morillo then assembled the garrisons of La Guayra, Puerto Cabello, and Caracas, attacked it, and obliged it to retreat to Villa de Cura, then to La Puerta, skirmishing the whole time. At the last mentioned place Morillo received a wound, which it was supposed for some time would prove mortal. He was pierced in the groin by a lance, and was carried to Valencia in a hammock.

After the battle of Sombrero, Bolivar dispatched a body of troops to join Paez at the siege of San Fernando, which was taken possession of by the patriots, the royalists having evacuated it with great precipitation, leaving all their stores, &c. in the power of the enemy.

Calzada, the royalist general in Varinas, seeing Bolivar's army much weakened by the detachment which he had sent to the assistance of Paez, moved forward to intercept his communication with the plains. An action ensued, which was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. Bolivar was defeated, and obliged to retreat to Calabozo, where he was rejoined by Paez and Cedeño.

On the 26th of March Paez defeated the royalists on the heights of Ortiz, under La Torre, whom he forced to retreat to Valencia.

In May, Morillo, who had now recovered from the effects of his wound, having collected his troops together, gave battle to Paez in the plains of Cojedos, where, although both parties claimed the victory, the advantage ultimately was on the side of the royalists. Paez's cavalry was so disabled in the action, that he was compelled to retire to the Apure to remount it, and was thus prevented from pushing on to Valencia.—At San Jose, previous to the battle of Cojedos, Bolivar was surprised by Colonel Lopez, and by the greatest good fortune escaped being killed.

Morales, the Spanish general, was obliged, however, to evacuate Calabozo, which had been taken by La Torre, and retire on Sombrero, in consequence of a defeat which a detachment of troops he had sent out to watch the motions of the enemy had experienced, in which three hundred of the mounted carabineers of the King were either killed or taken.

While these events were taking place in the interior, General Mariño had taken Cariaco; and Admiral Brion, after having dispersed the Spanish flotilla, and taken some vessels on the Orinoco, in which they found some pieces of artillery, 10,000 muskets, and many stores, took Guiana by surprise on the 24th of July.

Morillo removed his head-quarters from Valencia to San Carlos, in consequence of a division

of General Paez, under the command of Colonel Peña, having defeated a large body of Spaniards near Coro. On the 25th, Paez was in possession of the whole province of Varinas, and the whole of the lower plains of Caracas. A select body of Paez's cavalry penetrated even as far as Torunos, where it destroyed a small party of royalists, and proceeded on to the capital of Varinas, which it occupied without opposition. Calzada, the royalist general, retired with a division of 1300 men to Guanare.

Don F. A. Zea, who was president of the council of government, published the following proclamation, which ought in historical order to have been inserted before, but we were unwilling to do this that we might not disturb our narration of the military operations. It was addressed to the British officers and soldiers, who had repaired from England to join the independent cause in the course of this year.

REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA, President *ad interim* of the Council of Government, Chief of the Financial Department in the Council of State, Intendant-General of the Armies of the Republic, &c.

To the British officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the brigade of artillery, and of the four regiments inlisted under our Standard:

Welcome at this favourable hour, illustrious defenders of liberty; welcome to the arms of your brothers, and in the

bosom of your adopted country. Our brave mariners go forth to receive you far from our shores, and the hero who commands them, a foreigner as yourselves, can testify if we know how to appreciate the brave of all countries, who come to associate in the glorious cause of our independence.

This cause is worthy of you: it is the cause of wisdom and industry, of the arts and commerce—the sacred cause of social intercourse, and consequently that of every people and all men. It is principally so of your nation, who, being the most active, industrious, and commercial, ought to feel the greatest interest, that the Spaniards, avaricious usurpers of half the globe, should restore it to the human race.

This great act of justice claims the attention of enlightened cabinets, rather than that of armies; but I know not from what fatality Europe respects a Government, which has had the stupid insolence to insult her, by re-establishing its inquisition, and other inhuman institutions, in the face of the Royal Society of London, of the Institute of Paris, and of hundreds of academies and universities!—Posterity will with difficulty believe, that civilized Europe has tolerated in her bosom such a Government; which, lavish of blood and horrors, slaughters as in the age of Pizarro, lays waste, burns, devours, and destroys, and in the delirium of retaining a senseless dominion, will finish by depriving commercial nations of the valuable produce of our vast continent, and us of the products of their manufactures and ingenuity.

Our independence alone can terminate so many evils: the world demands the independence of America, and the brightest day of humanity will be that on which it is acknowledged.

This memorable event will, without doubt, be the most distinguished period of history. A new intellectual movement—a new impulse given to industry and to the arts, to agriculture and to commerce:—America will offer to Europe thousands of new productions—Europe, in her turn, will offer numberless new inventions to America;—such will be the fruits of our independence, and such the ties of friendship which will unite the New with the Ancient World, instead of the barbarous chain which fastens her to Spain alone. Let us break it at

once on the head of its Government, that Spain herself, free like us, may participate in the advantages, and be reconciled to the human racé.

Such is the sublime undertaking in which you have embarked with us, and to which we are conducted by a chief, covered with glory and full of virtue, generous, magnanimous, ever a patriot, always a citizen, and always the best friend of the defenders of liberty. Fly to his arms, follow him on his victorious march;—be careless of your fortune, and that of your children, for whom he himself has provided; and, intent alone on the grand idea of freeing the land of Columbus, rush forth with us upon the Spaniards, and hurl them from our territory to the Sea of the Antilles!—Let us at once shew what an army of friends can do, composed of Britons and Venezuelians!

St Thomas, of New Guayana, March 6. 1818; 8th of the Independence. FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA.
Thomas Richards, Sec. of the Council of Government.

Bolivar had set out in October to join the army, having appointed a council of government for foreign relations during his absence, composed of Urdaneta, the director-general Roscio, and the intendant Peñalver. Writs were also issued for assembling a Congress, which was to be installed, if possible, at Caracas, and if not, at Angostura.

On the 20th of November Bolivar returned to Angostura, in consequence of a defeat which Mariño sustained at Cumana, and which obliged him to change his plans. He then set off to join Paez's division.

Cedeño dislodged the Spaniards from Torralva, where they had 400 men; and Santander, with the army destined against Santa Fé, was marching

towards New Grenada, and on the 1st of October was at Poré, whence he issued a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants to join his standard. The communication between Carthagena and Bogota was completely intercepted by three parties of guerillas acting on the banks of the Magdalena.

In Popayan a considerable corps of patriots assembled, and the viceroy Samano was compelled to unite the whole of his forces.

On the 15th of February 1819 the Congress was installed, of which the following is the official account published at Angostura: to which we have annexed some extracts from the justly celebrated speech of General Bolivar, in the sitting of the 19th of February; and likewise some from that of Mr Zea, on his being elected president of the Congress.

Act of Installation of the Second Congress of Venezuela.

In the city of St Thomas of Angostura, on the fifteenth day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, ninth of the Independence of Venezuela, at half past ten in the morning, were assembled, in virtue of a summons of the Supreme Chief of the Republic, Simon Bolivar, in the Government Palace, for the installation of the Sovereign National Congress, convoked by

the said Supreme Chief, on the twenty-second day of October last, the Deputies, of whom the names are as follows :—viz.

Nominated by the free part of Venezuela.

For the province of Caracas:
Dr Juan German Roscio.
Dr Luis Tomas Peraza.
Licentiate José España.
Mr Onofre Basalo.
Mr Francisco Antonio Zea.

For the province of Barcelona:
Colonel Francisco Parejo.
Colonel P. Eduardo Hurtado.
Licentiate Diego Bautista Urbaneja.
Licentiate Ramon Garcia Cádiz.
Mr Diego Antonio Alcalá.

For the province of Cumana:
General in Chief, Santiago Mariño.
Brigad.-Gen. Tomas Montilla.
Dr Juan Martinez.
Colonel Diego Vallenilla.

For the province of Varinas:
Dr Ramon Ignacio Mendez.
Colonel Miguel Guerrero.
Gen. of Division, R. Urdaneta.
Dr Antonio Maria Brizeño.

For the province of Guayana:
Mr Eusebio Alfanador.
Mr Juan Vicente Cardozo.
Intendant of the army, F. Peñalver.
Brigadier General, P. L. Torres.

For the province of Margarita:
Licentiate Gaspar Marcano.
Dr Manuel Palacio.
Licentiate Domingo Alzuru.
Mr José de Jesus Guevara.

And although there were wanting four deputies to complete the thirty of which the Congress ought to consist, the installation, in virtue of the rule of convocation, by which the presence of only two-thirds of the representatives is required, was proceeded in with the following formalities and ceremonies :—

At eleven the firing of three cannon announced the coming of the Supreme Chief, accompanied by his staff, the governor of the place, the com-

mandant of the province, and all the chiefs and officers in this city. The deputies went out to receive his excellency without the gates of the palace, and conducting him to the hall set apart for their sittings, placed him in the chair under the national canopy. The concourse of citizens and foreigners of distinction was immense.

The Supreme Chief opened the session with reading a long speech, the chief object of which was to explain the fundamental principles of the project of a constitution he presented to the Congress, and to shew that it was the best adapted to the country. He spoke very briefly of his own administration under the most difficult circumstances, intimating that the secretaries of state would give an account of their respective departments, and exhibit the documents necessary for illustrating the real and actual state of the Republic; and only enlarged when recommending to the Congress the confirmation of the liberty granted to the slaves without any restriction whatever—the institution of the Order of Liberators—and the law for the division of the national property amongst the defenders of the country, as the only reward for their heroic services. He likewise charged the Congress, in the most particular manner, to turn its serious attention to the funding of the national debt, and providing means for its speedy extinction, as was due in gratitude, justice, and honour.

On his speech being ended, he added, " The Congress of Venezuela is installed;—in it, from

this moment, is centered the national sovereignty: my sword, (grasping it), and those of my illustrious fellows in arms, are ever ready to maintain its august authority. God save the Congress of Venezuela!" At this expression, several times repeated by the crowd, a salute of artillery was fired.

The Supreme Chief then invited the Congress to proceed to the election of an interim president, that he might deliver up to him his command. The deputy Francisco Antonio Zea having been elected by acclamation, his excellency took the oath on the Holy Evangelists, and in which he was followed by all the members, one by one. When his excellency had taken the oath, he placed the president in the chair which he had himself occupied under the canopy, and addressing the military, said, "Generals, chiefs, and officers, my fellows in arms, we are nothing more than simple citizens until the Sovereign Congress condescend to employ us in the classes and ranks agreeable to them: reckoning on your submission, I am about to give them, in your names and my own, the most manifest proof of our obedience, by delivering up the command intrusted to me." On saying which, he approached the president of the Congress, and presenting his staff of office, continued, "I return to the Republic the general's staff intrusted to me:—to serve in whatever rank or class the Congress may place me, cannot but be honourable; in it I shall give an example of that subordination and blind obedience, which

ought to characterize every soldier of the Republic." The president addressing the Congress, said, "The confirmation of all the ranks and offices conferred by his excellency General Simon Bolivar, during his command, does not appear to admit of any discussion; I, however, request the express approval of the Congress for declaring it. Is the Congress of opinion that the ranks and offices conferred by his excellency General Simon Bolivar, Supreme Chief of the Republic, be confirmed?" All the deputies standing up, answered Yes, and the president continued, "The Sovereign Congress of the Republic confirms, in the person of his excellency the Captain-General Simon Bolivar, all the ranks and offices conferred by him during his government;" and returning him the staff, placed him in the seat on his right. After a silence of some moments, the president spoke as follows:—

"All nations and all empires were in their infancy feeble and little, like man himself to whom they owe their origin. Those great cities which still inflame the imagination, Memphis, Palmyra, Thebes, Alexandria, Tyre, the capital even of Belus and Semiramis, and thou also, proud Rome, mistress of the universe, were nothing more at their commencement than diminutive and miserable hamlets. It was not in the Capitol, nor in the palace of Agrippa, nor of Trajan, but it was in a lonely hut, under a thatched roof, that Romulus, rudely clad, traced the capital of the

world, and laid the foundations of his mighty empire. Nothing shone conspicuous but his genius —there was nothing great but himself. It is not by the lustre nor by the magnificence of our installation, but by the immense means bestowed on us by nature, and by the immense plans which you will form for availing ourselves of them, that the future grandeur and power of our Republic should be measured. The artless splendour of the noble act of patriotism of which General Bolivar has just given so illustrious and so memorable an example, stamps on this solemnity a character of antiquity, and is a presage of the lofty destinies of our country. Neither Rome, nor Athens, nor even Sparta, in the purest days of heroism and public virtue, ever presented so sublime and so interesting a scene. The imagination rises in contemplating it, ages and distances disappear, and we think ourselves contemporary with the Aristides, the Phocions, the Camillus, and the Epaminondas of other days. The same philanthropy and the same liberal sentiments which united to the republican chiefs of high antiquity, those beneficent emperors, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, who so worthily trod the same path, will to-day place amongst them this modest general, and with them he will shine in history, and receive the benedictions of posterity. It is not now that the sublime trait of patriotic virtue which we have witnessed and admire, can be duly appreciated;—when our

institutions will have had the sanction of time, when every thing weak, and every thing little in our days,—passions, interests, and vanities,—will have disappeared, and great deeds and great men alone remain, then the abdication of General Bolivar will receive all the justice it so richly merits, and his name will be mentioned with pride in Venezuela, and with veneration throughout the universe. Forgetting every thing he has achieved for the establishment of our liberties,—eight years of affliction and dangers—the sacrifice of his fortune and repose—indescribable fatigues and hardships—exertions of which scarcely a similar example can be quoted from history,—that constancy proof against every reverse—that invincible firmness in never despairing of the salvation of our country, even when he saw her subjugated, and he destitute and alone;—forgetting, I say, so many claims to immortality, to fix his attention only on what we have seen and admired. If he had renounced the supreme authority when it presented nothing but troubles and dangers, when it brought on his head insults and calumnies, and when it appeared nothing more than an empty name, although it would not have been praiseworthy, it would at least have been prudent; but to do it at the very moment when the authority begins to enjoy some attractions in the eyes of ambition, and when every thing forebodes a speedy and fortunate issue to our desires, and to do it of himself, and from the pure love of liberty, is a

deed so heroic, and so splendid, that I doubt whether it ever had an equal, and despair of its ever being imitated. But what! shall we allow General Bolivar to rise so much above his fellow-citizens as to oppress them with his glory, and not at least endeavour to compete with him in noble and patriotic sentiments, by not permitting him to quit the precincts of this august assembly without reinvesting him with that same authority which he had relinquished, in order to maintain liberty inviolable, but which was in fact the way to risk it?"—"No, no," replied General Bolivar with energy and briskness, "Never, never will I take upon me again an authority, which from my heart I have renounced for ever on principle and sentiment." He continued explaining the dangers which liberty would be exposed to, by continuing for a length of time the same man in possession of the chief authority; he shewed the necessity of guarding against the views of every ambitious person, and even against his own, as he could not be sure of always acting and thinking in the same way; and finished his speech with protesting in the strongest and most decisive tone, that in no case, and on no consideration, would he ever accept an authority which he had so sincerely and so cordially renounced, in order to secure to his country the blessings of liberty. His reply being ended, he begged permission to retire; to which the President acceded, and ap-

pointed a deputation of ten members to conduct him.

A discussion then took place in the Congress about the nomination of an interim president of the Republic; but several difficulties arising in the election, it was agreed that General Bolivar should exercise that power for twenty-four, or at most for eight-and-forty hours; and a deputation, with General Mariño at their head, was sent to communicate the resolution. General Bolivar replied, that it was only in consideration of the urgency of the case that he accepted the charge, and on the precise condition that it should only be for the time fixed.

This important business being disposed of, and the day far advanced, the Sovereign Congress resolved to meet the following morning at half past nine; and in a body, accompanied by the executive power, the staff, the generals, chiefs, and officers of the army and place, to proceed to the holy cathedral church, and return thanks to Almighty God for his mercies in having granted the happy reassembling of the national representation, to fix the lot of the Republic by giving it a free constitution capable of raising her to the height of glory destined by nature.

The president declared the sitting of the installation of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela ended, and directed that the Act should be signed by all the Deputies and the Supreme Chief, who had this day laid down his authority, and that it

be counter-signed by the secretary appointed *ad interim* for that purpose.

Simon Bolivar.
Francisco Antonio Zea.
Juan German Roscio.
Luis Tomas Peraza.
José España.
Onofre Basalo.
Francisco Parejo.
Eduardo Hurtado.
Ramon Garcia Cádiz.
Diego Antonio Alcalá.
Santiago Mariño.
Tomas Montilla.
Juan Martinez.
Diego Vallenilla.
Ramon Ignacio Mendez.
Miguel Guerrero.
Rafael Urdaneta.
Antonio Maria Brizeño.
Eusebio Afanador.
Juan Vicente Cardozo.
Fernando Peñalver.
Pedro Leon Torres.
Gaspar Marcana.
Manuel Palacio.
Domingo Alzuru.
José de Jesus Guevara.

Deputy Secretary *ad interim*, Diego Bautista Urbaneja.

Palace of the National Congress in Angostura, 17th February 1819.—To be passed to the Supreme Executive Power for its publication and circulation.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA, President.
DIEGO BAUTISTA URBANEJA, Secretary.

Government Palace, 18th February 1819.—To be published, printed, and communicated to the chiefs of the free provinces, and the municipalities.

SIMON BOLIVAR.
PEDRO B. MENDEZ,
Secretary of State.

SPEECH of General BOLIVAR to the CONGRESS of Venezuela.

GENTLEMEN,—I account myself one of the beings most favoured by Divine Providence, in having the honour of reuniting the Representatives of Venezuela in this august Congress, the only source of legitimate authority, the deposit of the sovereign will, and the arbiter of the nation's fate.

In delivering back to the Representatives of the people the supreme power intrusted to me, I satisfy the desires of my own heart, and calm the wishes of my fellow-citizens, and of future generations, who hope every thing from your wisdom, rectitude, and prudence. In fulfilling this delightful duty, I free myself from the boundless authority which oppresses me, and also from the unlimited responsibility which weighs on my feeble hands.

An imperative necessity, united to a strongly expressed desire on the part of the people, could alone have induced me to assume the dreadful and dangerous charge of dictator, supreme chief of the Republic. Now, however, I respire in returning the authority, which, with so great risk, difficulty, and toil, I have maintained amidst as horrible calamities as ever afflicted a social body.

In the epoch during which I presided over the Republic, it was not merely a political storm that raged, in a sanguinary war, in a time of popular anarchy, but the tempest of the desert, a whirlwind of every disorganized element, the bursting of an infernal torrent, that overwhelmed the land of Venezuela. A man! and such a man as I am! what bounds, what resistance could he oppose to such furious devastation? Amidst that sea of woes and afflictions, I was nothing more than the miserable sport of the revolutionary hurricane, driven to and fro like the wild bird of the ocean. I could do neither good nor evil; an irresistible power, above all human controul, directed the march of our fortunes; and for me to pretend to have been the prime mover of the events which have taken place, would be unjust, and would be attaching to myself an importance I do not merit. Do you desire to know the sources from which those occurrences took their rise, and the origin of our present situation? Consult the annals of Spain, of America, and of Venezuela; examine the laws of the Indies, the conduct of your ancient governors, the influence of religion, and of foreign dominion; observe the first acts of the Republican Government, the ferocity of our enemies, and the national character. I again repeat, that I cannot consider myself more than the mere instrument of the great causes which

have acted on our country. My life, my conduct, and all my actions, public and private, are, however, before the people—and, Representatives, it is your duty to judge them. I submit to your impartial decision the manner in which I have executed my command, and nothing will I add to excuse—I have already said enough as an apology. Should I merit your approbation, I shall have acquired the sublime title of a good citizen, preferred by me to that of liberator, bestowed on me by Venezuela; to that of pacificator, given by Cundinamarca; and to all others the universe could confer.

Legislators!—I deposit in your hands the supreme command of Venezuela, and it is now your high duty to consecrate yourselves to the felicity of the Republic; in your hands rests the balance of our destiny, and the means of our glory.—You will confirm the decrees which establish our liberty.

The supreme chief of the Republic is, at this moment, nothing more than a simple citizen,—and such he wishes to remain until his latest hour. He will, however, serve with the armies of Venezuela, as long as an enemy treads her soil.

Our country contains within her bosom many deserving sons capable of directing her. Talents, virtue, experience, and whatever is requisite for the good government of free men, are the patrimony, both of many who represent the people in this august assembly, and of others without its walls. Citizens are to be found, who, at all times, have given proofs of their valour in encountering dangers, of their prudence in eschewing them, and in short, of the art of governing themselves, and of governing others. These illustrious personages do undoubtedly merit the suffrages of the Congress, and to receive in charge that government, which I, with so much cordiality and sincerity, have just renounced for ever.

The continuation of authority in the same individual, has frequently proved the termination of democratical governments. Repeated elections are essential in popular systems, for nothing is so dangerous as to suffer power to remain a long time vested in one citizen; the people accustomed to obey, and he to command, give rise to usurpation and tyranny. A strict jealousy is the guarantee of republican liberty; and

the citizens of Venezuela ought to fear with the greatest justice, that the same magistrate who has governed them for a length of time, may do so for ever.

I trust, that from this my act of adherence to the liberty of my country, I may aspire to the glory of being reckoned one of her most faithful lovers.

Permit me, Sirs, with the frankness of a true republican, to lay before you a respectful outline of the project of a constitution, which I take the liberty of offering, in testimony of the sincerity and candour of my sentiments. As the safety of all is concerned, I venture to believe, that I possess a right of being heard by the representatives of the people. I am well aware, that your wisdom has no need of counsellors, and I am moreover aware, that my project may appear erroneous and impracticable; but, Sirs, accept with kindness this work, which is, I do assure you, rather a tribute of my sincere submission to the Congress, than the production of presumptuous levity. Your installation, moreover, constituting the creation of a political body, and, as may be said, even the creation of a whole community, surrounded by all the inconveniencies which the most singular and difficult situation can present, the cry of one citizen may, perhaps, point out the presence of hidden danger.

Casting a glance on the past, we shall see what is the basis of the Republic of Venezuela.

The separation of America from the Spanish monarchy, resembles the state of the Roman Empire, when that enormous mass fell to pieces in the midst of the ancient world. Every dismemberment then formed an independent nation, conformable to its situation and interests; but with the difference, that those associations returned to their original principles. We do not retain vestiges of what we were in other times: we are not Europeans, we are not Indians, but a middle race betwixt the Aborigines and the Spaniards. Americans by birth, and Europeans in rights, we are placed in the extraordinary predicament of disputing with the natives our privilege of possession, and of maintaining ourselves in the country which gave us birth against the efforts of the original invaders;

—and thus, our situation is the more extraordinary and complicated.

Our lot, moreover, has ever been purely passive; our political existence has ever been nugatory; and we, therefore, encounter greater difficulties in establishing our liberties, having hitherto been in a lower degree of degradation than even servitude, and being not only robbed of our freedom, but not suffering an active and domineering tyranny, which would have excited feelings of indignation.

Permit me to explain the paradox:—In the exercise of authorized absolute power, there are no limits; the will of the despot is the supreme law, arbitrarily executed by inferiors who participate in the organized oppression, in proportion to the authority they hold, being intrusted with all functions, civil, political, military, and religious. America received all from Spain, was without the practice and exercise of an active tyranny, and was not permitted to share in the administration of her domestic concerns and interior arrangements.

This abject state of depression rendered it impossible for us to be acquainted with the course of public affairs, and as little did we enjoy the personal consequence and respect, which the shew of authority commands in the eyes of the people, and which is of such importance in great revolutions. I say again, that we were abstracted and absent from the world in every thing having a reference to the science of government. The people of America, bound with the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny, and vice, could not acquire either knowledge, power, or virtue.

Pupils of such pernicious masters—the lessons we received, and the examples we followed, were the most destructive. We were governed more by deceit and treachery than by force, and were degraded more by vice than by superstition. Slavery is the daughter of darkness, and an ignorant person is generally the blind instrument of his own ruin: ambition and intrigue take advantage of the credulity and inexperience of men totally unacquainted with every principle of political and civil economy; the uninformed adopt as realities what are mere illusions—they mistake licentiousness for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and revenge for justice.

A corrupt people, should it gain its liberty, soon loses it again; for in vain are the lights of experience exercised in shewing that happiness consists in the practice of virtue, and that the government of laws is more powerful than that of tyrants, because they are more inflexible, and all ought to submit to their wholesome severity; that good morals, and not force, constitute the pillars of the law; and that the exercise of justice is the exercise of liberty.

Thus, Legislators! your undertaking is so much the more laborious, as you have to do with men corrupted by the illusions of error, and by noxious incitements. Liberty, says Rousseau, is a succulent food, but difficult of digestion. Our weak and feeble fellow-citizens will have to increase in strength of mind in a very great degree, before they get the length of being able to digest the wholesome aliment of freedom. With members benumbed by fetters, and eye-sight weakened by the darkness of dungeons, are they capable of marching with firm steps towards the august temple of Liberty? Are they capable of supporting its splendid rays; or breathing freely the pure ether that reigns there?

Legislators!—Consider well the object of your election; bear ever in mind that you are about to form fundamental regulations for an incipient people, which, if you proportionate the basis of the structure to what may be expected, may rise to that pitch of elevation pointed out by nature. If the tutelary Genius of Venezuela does not direct your choice, and inspire you with the prudence and expertness necessary for selecting the nature and form of government you are about to adopt for the happiness of the people—if you do not fix aright, depend on it, slavery will be the result.

The records of other days present us with an immense variety of governments: bring to your recollection the nations which have figured most conspicuously in the history of the world, and with affliction will you remark, that almost the whole earth has been, and is, the victim of its governments. You will find many systems for governing men, but most for oppressing them; and had not the custom of seeing the human race led by the pastors of the people, diminished the horror

of so revolting a spectacle, we would be shocked in observing our docile species feeding on the surface of the globe, like the cattle of the field, destined for the use of their cruel masters. Nature certainly endows us at our birth with an inclination to liberty; but whether arising from sloth, or some other source, it is a positive fact, that she remains still and quiet under the trammels which may be imposed on her. In contemplating her in this state of prostitution, it would appear that we have reason to be persuaded, that the majority of mankind consider as true that humiliating maxim, that it is more difficult to maintain the equilibrium of liberty than to sustain the weight of tyranny. Would to God that this maxim, so contrary to nature, were false! Would to God that this maxim had not been sanctioned by the indolence of mankind with respect to their most sacred rights!

Many ancient and modern nations have shaken off oppression, but few of them have known how to enjoy the precious moments of freedom; very soon have they returned to their former political vices, for the people more frequently than the government bring on tyranny. The habit of submission renders them insensible to the charms of honour and national prosperity, and leads them to regard with insensibility the glory of being free under the protection of laws dictated by their own will. The history of the world proclaims this dreadful truth.

Democracy, in my opinion, is alone susceptible of complete liberty; but what democratical government ever united at the same time power, prosperity, and permanency? and, on the contrary, have we not seen aristocracy and monarchy establish great and powerful empires for ages and ages? What government is more ancient than that of China? What republic has exceeded in duration those of Sparta and Venice? Did not the Roman empire conquer the world? Did not monarchy exist in France for fourteen centuries? What state is more powerful than Great Britain? The governments, however, of these nations, were either aristocratical or monarchical.

Notwithstanding such painful reflections, my mind is filled with joy at the great progress made by our Republic in its

glorious career—loving what is useful, animated by what is just, and aspiring to what is perfect. Venezuela, on separating from Spain, recovered her independence and liberty, her equality and her national sovereignty: constituting herself into a democratical republic, she proscribed monarchy, distinctions, nobility, charters, and privileges; she declared the rights of man,—the liberty of acting, thinking, speaking, and writing. Those facts, so eminently liberal, cannot be sufficiently admired for the purity which gave them birth. The first Congress of Venezuela fixed in indelible characters, in the annals of our legislation, the majesty of the people, as properly expressed in the social act, as the fittest to form the happiness of the nation. Every feeling of my mind is required to appreciate duly the super-eminent good contained in that immortal code of our rights and laws. But at the same time, how shall I express myself? Shall I dare to profane with my censure the sacred tables of our laws? There are sentiments which cannot remain quiet in the breast of the man that loves his country, and which, however attempted to be concealed, agitate by their violence, and which an imperious force obliges him to disclose. It grieves me to think that the government of Venezuela requires reform; and although many illustrious citizens think as I do, all do not possess sufficient boldness to state publicly their opinion in favour of the adoption of new principles. This consideration has led me to be the first in introducing a subject of the greatest importance—although, in doing so, there is an excessive audacity in pretending to give advice to the counsellors of the nation.

The more I admire the excellency of the federal constitution of Venezuela, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of applying it to our situation; and according to my way of thinking, it is a miracle that its model in North America has existed with so much prosperity, and not been thrown into confusion on the first appearance of danger or embarrassment. Notwithstanding which, that people is a singular example of political virtue and moral rectitude: liberty has been its cradle; it has grown up in liberty, and is maintained

by pure liberty. I will add, that that people is unique in the history of the human race; and repeat, that it is a prodigy, that a system so weak and complicated as the federal, should have existed under so difficult and delicate circumstances as those which have occurred. However, whatever the case may be as to the Government, I must say of the American people, that the idea never entered my mind of assimilating the situation and nature of two nations so distinct as the Anglo and Spanish American. Would it not be extremely difficult to apply to Spain the political, civil, and religious code of Great Britain? It would be even more difficult to adopt in Venezuela the laws of North America. Does not the spirit of laws say, that laws ought to be suited to the people making them; and that it is a very great chance that those of one nation will suit another?—that the laws ought to bear relation to the physical state of the country, to its climate, to the quality of its soil, to its situation, to its extent, and to the manner of life of its inhabitants, having reference to the degree of liberty the constitution can support, to the religion of the people, to their inclinations, riches, number, commerce, customs, and morals?

I now present the code, which, according to my way of thinking, we ought to adopt.

The constitution of Venezuela, although founded on the most perfect principles, differed widely from that of America in an essential point, and without doubt the most important. The Congress of Venezuela, like that of America, participates in some of the attributes of the executive power. But we go further, and subdivide it by committing it to a collective body, and are consequently subject to the inconvenience of making the existence of the government periodical, of suspending and of dissolving it whenever the members separate. Our triumvirate is void, as one may say, of unity, duration, and personal responsibility: it is at times destitute of action; it is without perpetual life, real uniformity, and immediate responsibility; and a government which does not possess continuance, may be denominated a nullity. Although the powers of the President of the United States are limited by excessive restrictions,

he exercises by himself alone all the functions of authority granted him by the constitution; and there can be no doubt that his administration must be more uniform, constant, and truly proper, than that of a power divided amongst various individuals, the composition of which cannot but be monstrous.

The judicial power in Venezuela is similar to that in America, indefinite in duration, temporary and not perpetual; and it enjoys all the independence necessary.

The first Congress, in its federal constitution, consulted rather the spirits of the different provinces than the solid idea of establishing an indivisible and concentrated republic. There sat our legislators under the influence of provincials, carried away with the dazzling appearance of the happiness of North America, thinking that the blessings she enjoyed were owing exclusively to the form of government, and not to the character of the people. And in fact, the example of the United States, with its progressive prosperity, was too flattering not to have been followed. Who could resist the glorious attraction of the full and absolute enjoyment of sovereignty, independence, and liberty? Who could resist the admiration and esteem inspired by an intelligent government, which unites at the same moment public and private rights, which forms by general consent the supreme law of individuals? Who can resist the dominion of a beneficent government, which, with an able, active, and powerful hand, directs at all times, and in all cases, all its efforts towards that social perfection which ought to be the end of all human institutions? However beautiful this magnificent federative system might appear, and in fact be, Venezuela could not enjoy it immediately on shaking off her chains: we were not prepared for so great a good. Good, as well as evil, causes death when sudden and excessive; our moral constitution did not yet possess the benefits of a government completely representative, and which is so sublime when it can be adopted by a republic of saints.

Representatives of the people! you are convened to confirm or repeal whatever may appear to you proper to be preserved, reformed, or expunged, in our social compact. It is your duty to correct the work of our first legislators, and I would

say, that to you it belongs to cover a portion of the beauties contained in our political code; for all hearts are not formed for admiring every beauty, nor all eyes capable of supporting the celestial blaze of perfection. The Book of the Apostles, the doctrine of Jesus, the Divine Writings, sent by a gracious Providence to better mankind, so sublime and so holy, would kindle an ocean of flame at Constantinople, and the whole of Asia would fiercely burn, were the Book of Peace to be imposed at once as the code of religion, laws, and customs.

Permit me to call the attention of the Congress to a matter which may be of vital importance:—Bear in mind that our population is neither European nor American, but is rather a compound of African and American than of European origin, because even Spain herself is not strictly European, from her African blood, institutions, and character. It is impossible to point out with propriety to what human family we belong:—the greater part of the Aborigines have been annihilated; the European has mixed with the American and with the African, and the latter has mixed also with the Indian and the European. All children of the same mother, our fathers, various in origin and in blood, are strangers, and differ all in figure and form from each other.

All the citizens of Venezuela enjoy by the constitution a political equality; and if that equality had not been a dogma in Athens, in France, and in America, we ought to confirm the principle, in order to correct the difference which may apparently exist. Legislators! my opinion is, that the fundamental principle of our system depends immediately and solely on equality being established and practised in Venezuela. That men are all born with equal rights to the benefits of society, has been sanctioned by almost all the sages of every age; as has also, that all men are not born with equal capacities for the attainment of every rank, as all ought to practise virtue, and all do not so; all ought to be brave, and all are not so; all ought to possess talents, and all do not. From this arises the real distinction observed amongst individuals of the most liberally established society.

If the principle of political equality be generally acknowledged, not less so is that of physical and moral inequality.

It would be an illusion, an absurdity, to suppose the contrary. Nature makes men unequal in genius, temperament, strength, and character. Laws correct that difference, by placing the individual in society where education, industry, arts, sciences, and virtues, give a fictitious equality properly called political and social. The union of all classes in one state is eminently beneficial, and in which diversity is multiplied in proportion to the propagation of the species. By it alone has discord been torn up by the roots, and many jealousies, follies, and prejudices avoided!

Our diversity of origin requires a most powerful pulse, and a delicate manner for managing so heterogeneous a body, as its complicated composition may be dislocated, divided, and dissolved by the slightest change.

The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest degree of happiness, of social security, and political stability.

By the laws dictated by the first Congress, we have reason to hope that felicity will be the portion of Venezuela; and from you we may flatter ourselves, that security and stability will render that felicity perpetual.

To you it belongs to resolve the problem,—in what manner, after having broken the fetters of our former oppressors, we may accomplish the wonderful feat of preventing the remains of our grievous chains being turned into the arms of licentiousness. The relics of Spanish dominion will continue a long time before we can completely destroy them: our atmosphere is impregnated with the contagion of despotism; and neither the flame of war, nor the specific of our salutary laws, have purified the air we breathe. Our hands are indeed free, but our hearts are still suffering from the effects of servitude. Man in losing his liberty, says Homer, loses half his spirit.

A republican government has been, is, and ought to be that of Venezuela; its basis ought to be the sovereignty of the people, the division of power, civil liberty, the prohibition of slavery, and the abolition of monarchy and privileges. We want equality, for re-casting, as one may say, men, political opinions, and public customs. Throwing our sight over the

vast field we have to examine, let us fix our attention on the dangers we ought to avoid, and let history guide us in our career.

Athens presents us with the most brilliant example of an absolute democracy, and at the same time is a melancholy proof of the extreme weakness of that kind of government. The wisest legislator of Greece did not see his republic last ten years, and underwent the humiliation of acknowledging the insufficiency of an absolute democracy for governing any kind of society, not even the most cultivated, moral, and limited, because it shines only with flashes of liberty. Let us acknowledge then that Solon has undeceived the world, and shewn how difficult it is to govern men by simple laws.

The republic of Sparta, which appeared a chimerical invention, produced more real effects than the ingenious work of Solon: glory, virtue, morality, and consequently national happiness, were the result of the legislature of Lycurgus. Although two kings in one state were like two monsters to devour it—Sparta suffered but little from that double royalty; and Athens enjoyed the most splendid lot under an absolute sovereignty,—free elections of magistrates frequently renewed,—mild, wise, and politic laws. Pisistratus, an usurper and a despot, did more good to Athens than her laws; and Pericles, although an usurper likewise, was the most useful citizen.

The republic of Thebes existed only during the lives of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, for it is men, and not principles, that form governments. However wise codes, systems, and statutes may be, they have but little influence on society; it is virtuous, patriotic, and enlightened men that constitute republics.

The Roman constitution was that which produced the greatest power and fortune to any people on earth: in it there was no exact distribution of power. The consuls, the senate, and the people, were legislators, magistrates, and judges: they all participated in all those offices. The executive consisting of two consuls, had the same inconvenience as that of Sparta, and yet, notwithstanding its deformity, the republic did not suffer that mischievous discordance, which might be supposed

inseparable from a magistracy consisting of two individuals endowed equally with the powers of a monarch. A government whose sole inclination was war and conquest, did not appear likely to establish the happiness of the people. A government monstrous in itself, and purely warlike, raised Rome to the highest pitch of virtue and glory, and formed of the world a Roman empire, proving to mankind the force of political virtues, and the trivial influence of institutions.

Passing from ancient to modern times, we find England and France deserving general attention, and giving impressive lessons in every species of government. The revolutions in those two great states, like brilliant meteors, have filled the world with so great a profusion of political light, that every thinking being has learned what are the rights and duties of man; in what the excellency of governments consists, and in what their vices: all know how to appreciate the intrinsic value of the theoretical speculations of modern philosophers and legislators. In short, this star in its brilliant course inflamed even the apathetic Spaniards, who also entering the political whirlwind, gave ephemeral proofs of liberty, and have shewn their incapacity of living under the mild dominion of the law, by returning after a short blaze to their original bondage.

Legislators!—This is the proper time for repeating what the eloquent Volney says in his dedication to the Ruins of Palmyra,—"To the growing people of the Spanish Indies—to the generous chiefs who conduct them to liberty—may the errors and misfortunes of the Old World teach wisdom and happiness to the New."—May they never lose themselves, but profit by the lessons of experience given in the schools of Greece, of Rome, of France, of England, and of America, and be instructed by them in the difficult science of establishing and preserving nations with proper, just, legitimate, and above all useful laws; never forgetting that the excellency of a government does not consist in its theory, form, or mechanism, but in being fitted to the nature and character of the people for which it was instituted.

Rome and Great Britain are the nations which have most excelled amongst the ancients and moderns. Both were born

to command and be free, and yet neither had constitutions modelled in liberty's most brilliant form, but solid establishments; and on that account therefore I recommend to you, Representatives, the study of the British constitution, which appears to be the one destined to produce the greatest possible effect on the people adopting it; but perfect as it may be, I am very far, at the same time, from proposing a servile imitation of it. When I speak of the British constitution, I refer solely to the democratical part of it; and in truth it may be denominated a monarchy in system, in which is acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, the division and equilibrium of power, civil freedom, liberty of conscience, and of the press, and every thing that is sublime in politics. A greater degree of liberty cannot be enjoyed in any kind of republic, and it may indeed claim a higher rank in social order. I recommend that constitution as the best model to those who aspire to the enjoyments of the rights of man, and of all that political felicity compatible with our frail natures.

In nothing whatever would we change our fundamental laws, were we to adopt a legislative power similar to that of the British Parliament. We have divided, as the Americans have done, the national representation into two houses, that of the representatives and the senate. The first is wisely composed; it enjoys all the privileges fitted for it, and is not susceptible of essential change, as the constitution has endowed it with the origin, form, and powers, required by the will of the people for being lawfully and competently represented.

If the senate in place of being elective were hereditary, it would in my conception be the basis, the bond, and the soul of the republic, and in political storms it would possess the functions of government, and would resist popular commotions. Attached to the government by the powerful excitement of its own preservation, it would ever oppose the attempts the people might make against the jurisdiction and authority of their magistrates. It must be confessed, that most men are ignorant of their true interests, and are continually attacking them in the hands of those to whom they are committed—the individual contends against the general mass, and the general

mass against authority; and it is therefore necessary that a neutral body should exist in all governments, to protect the injured, and disarm the offender. This neutral body, in order that it may be such, ought neither to derive its origin from the choice of the government, nor from that of the people, but in such wise that it may enjoy complete independence,—neither fearing nor hoping any thing from either of these sources of authority. An hereditary senate, as a part of the people, would participate in its interests, in its opinions, and in its spirit, and for that reason it is not to be presumed, that an hereditary senate will separate from the interests of the people, and forget its legislative duties. The senators in Rome, and the peers in Britain, have proved themselves the firmest pillars in the glorious structure of civil and political liberty.

These senators will, for the first time, be elected by the Congress, and their successors in the senate will occupy the principal attention of the Government, which will cause them to be educated in a college especially set apart for the instruction of those future guardians and legislators of the country. They will be taught the arts, the sciences, and every thing that can adorn the mind of a public man; from their earliest infancy they will be acquainted with the career destined them by Providence, and from their most tender years their souls will be elevated to the dignity awaiting them.

In no manner whatever would the creation of an hereditary senate be a violation of political equality; it is not a nobility I wish to establish, because that, as has been said by a celebrated republican, would be to destroy at once equality and liberty. It is an office for which candidates ought to be prepared, and is also an office requiring extensive knowledge, and proportionate means for attaining it.

In elections every thing ought not to be left to chance and hazard, for the public is easier deceived than nature perfected by art; and although it be a fact, that these senators will not proceed from the womb of virtue, it is equally true, that they will come forth endowed with a most finished education. The liberators of Venezuela are moreover entitled to hold for ever a high rank in the republic, which is indebted to them for

existence; and I do believe that posterity would observe with regret the extinction of the illustrious names of its first benefactors. I will say further, that it is for the public interest, that it is for the national honour, and that it is due from the gratitude of Venezuela, to preserve in honour to the latest posterity, a race of virtuous, prudent, and valiant men, who, overcoming every obstacle, have established the Republic at the expense of the most heroic sacrifices; and, if the people of Venezuela do not applaud and rejoice at the elevation of its benefactors, they are unworthy to be free, and never will be so.

An hereditary Senate, I say again, will be the fundamental basis of the legislative power, and consequently the basis of the whole government. It will act equally as a counterpoise to the government and the people, and will be an intermediate authority to deaden the arrows which those perpetual rivals are constantly shooting at each other.

In all contests the interposition of a third person becomes the means of reconciliation, and thus will the Senate of Venezuela be the cement of the delicate edifice so liable to violent concussions. It will be the means of calming the fury and maintaining the harmony betwixt the members and the head of this political body. Nothing can corrupt a legislative body invested with the highest honours; dependent on itself alone, without fearing any thing from the people, or expecting any thing from the government; whose only object is to repress every tendency to evil, and encourage every attempt at good, and which is deeply interested in the existence of a society with which it shares adversity and prosperity.

It has been most justly remarked, that the British House of Peers is invaluable to the nation, as forming a bulwark to the liberties of the people; and I dare add, that the Senate of Venezuela will not only be a bulwark to liberty, but a help to render the Republic perpetual.

The executive power in Great Britain is invested with all the sovereign authority fitted to it, but it is also circumscribed by a triple line of ditches, barriers, and palisades. The sovereign is indeed the head of the government, but his ministers

and officers depend more on the laws than on his authority, because they are personally responsible, and from that responsibility not even royal authority can exempt them. He is commander in chief of the army and navy, he makes peace and declares war, but it is the parliament alone which votes annually the supplies. For neutralizing his power, the person of the King is inviolable and sacred; whilst his head is left free, his hands are bound. The sovereign of Britain has three formidable rivals—the Cabinet, which is responsible to the people and to parliament; the House of Peers, which protects the interests of the people, as representing the nobility of which it is composed; and the House of Commons, the organ of the British public. As the Judges are moreover responsible for the due fulfilment of the laws, they adhere strictly to them; and the administrators of the public money being accountable not only for their own violation of duty, but even for what the government may do, guard against misapplication.

The more the nature of the executive power in Britain is examined, the more will you be inclined to think it the most perfect model for either a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. In Venezuela let the executive power be exercised by a President, appointed by the people or their representatives, and we shall then have taken a long stride towards national felicity.

Whoever the citizen may be that may fill that situation, he will be supported by the constitution; authorized to do good, he cannot do evil; for, submitting to the laws, his ministers will co-operate with him; and should he, on the contrary, attempt to infringe them, his own ministers will leave him insulated in the midst of the Republic, and will even impeach him to the senate. The ministers being responsible for such offences as may be committed, are the persons that govern; and it is not the least advantage of the system, that those more immediately exercising the functions of the executive power, take an interesting and active part in the deliberations of the government, and consider their duties as personal.

It may happen that the president may not be a man of great talents or virtues, and notwithstanding the want of these

essential qualities, he may still perform the dutics of his situation in a satisfactory manner, because in such case, the ministry doing every thing, itself bears the burden of the state. However exorbitant the authority of executive power in Great Britain may appear, it would not perhaps be too great in the Republic of Venezuela: here the Congress has bound both the hands and heads of the magistrates, and has assumed a portion of the executive functions, contrary to the maxim of Montesquieu, who says, that a representative body ought not to take upon itself any active principle; it ought to make laws, and see those executed which it does make. Nothing is so dangerous to a people as a weak executive, and if it has been deemed necessary to endow it with so many attributes in a monarchy, how infinitely more indispensable would it be in a republic. Let us fix our attention on this difference, and we shall find that the equilibrium of power ought to be distributed in two ways. In a republic, the executive ought to be the strongest, because every thing conspires against it; and on the other hand, in a monarchy the legislative ought to be the most powerful, as every thing unites in favour of the sovereign. The veneration which people bear for a regal magistracy, is a proof of its influence in augmenting the superstitious respect paid to that species of authority. The splendour of the throne, crown, and purple; the formidable support given by the nobility; the immense riches acquired by generations of the same dynasty; and the fraternal protection afforded by kings to each other; are considerable advantages militating in favour of royal authority, and render it almost unlimited. Those very advantages are a reason why a republican magistrate should be endowed with greater power than that possessed by a constitutional prince.

A republican magistrate is an insulated individual in the midst of society, intrusted with the duty of curbing the impetus of the people towards licentiousness, and the propensity of judges and administrators to an abuse of the laws. Such a one, with regard to the legislative body, the senate, and the people, is a single individual resisting the combined attack of the opinions, the interests, and the passions of society, which,

according to what Carnot says, is constantly striving betwixt the desire of governing and that of not being subject to any authority. He is, in short, one athlete opposed to a multitude of others. The only corrective to such weakness is a vigorous and suitable resistance to the opposition made to the executive power by the legislative body and people of a republic. If the executive do not possess the means of exercising all the authority properly placed at its disposal, it becomes null, and the government expires, leaving anarchy, usurpation, and tyranny, as its heirs and successors.

Let the whole system of government therefore be strengthened, and the equilibrium established in such a manner that it cannot be overturned, or its refinement become a cause of decay. As no form of government is so weak as a democracy, its constitution ought to be as solid as possible, and its institutions conducive to stability. If such be not the case, we may reckon on having only a government on trial, and not a permanent system; and on having a wavering, tumultuous, and anarchical community, and not a social establishment, in which happiness, peace, and justice reign.

Legislators!—Let us not be presumptuous but moderate in our pretensions. It is by no means likely that we can do what has never yet been accomplished by any of the human race, what the greatest and wisest nations have never effected. Undefined liberty, and absolute democracy, are the rocks on which republican hopes and expectations have been wrecked.

Take a view of the republics of antiquity, of those of modern times, and of those rising into existence, and you will find, that almost all have been frustrated in their attempts. The men who aim at legitimate institutions and social perfection, are undoubtedly deserving of every praise; but who can say that mankind possess complete wisdom, or that they practise all the virtues which the union of power and justice imperatively demand? Angels, and not men, can alone exist free, peaceable, and happy, in the exercise of sovereign power.

Whilst the people of Venezuela exercise the rights they lawfully enjoy—let us moderate the excessive pretensions

which an incompetent form of government might suggest, and let us give up that federal system which does not suit us; —let us get clear of the triumvirate executive power, and concentre it in one president, and let us commit to him sufficient authority to enable him to resist the inconveniencies arising from our recent situation, from the state of warfare we have been suffering under, and from the kind of foreign and domestic enemies we have had to deal with, and with whom we shall still have to contend for a length of time. Let the legislative power resign the attributes belonging to the executive, and acquire nevertheless fresh consistency, and fresh influence in the equilibrium of authority. Let the courts of justice be reformed by the permanency and independence of the judges, by the establishment of juries, and of civil and criminal codes, not dictated by antiquity nor by conquering kings, but by the voice of nature, by the cry of justice, and by the genius of wisdom.

It is my anxious wish, that every part of the government and administration should acquire that degree of vigour, which can alone sustain a due equilibrium, not simply amongst the members of government, but even amongst the various ranks of which society is composed. It would not signify, were the springs of a political system to be relaxed, if that relaxation did not occasion the dissolution of the social body, and the ruin of those associated. The cries of the human race in the field of battle, and in tumultuous assemblies, appeal to Heaven against those inconsiderate and blind legislators, who have thought they could with impunity make trials of chimerical institutions. All the nations on earth have sought after liberty, some by arms and others by laws, passing alternately from anarchy to despotism, or from despotism to anarchy; but very few have been satisfied with moderate attainments, or adopted constitutions conformable to their means, nature, and circumstances.

Let us not attempt what is impossible, least, by endeavouring to rise too high in the regions of liberty, we fall into the abyss of tyranny. From absolute liberty there is always a descent to absolute power; and the medium betwixt the two

extremes is supreme social liberty. Abstract ideas give rise to the pernicious idea of unlimited liberty. Let us so act, that the power of people be restrained within the limits pointed out by reason and interest; that the national will be curbed by a just authority; and that a civil and criminal legislation, analogous to our constitution, govern imperatively the judicial power; in which case an equilibrium will exist, and those differences and discords be avoided, which would embarrass the concerns of state, as well as that species of complication which shackles instead of uniting society.

To form a stable government, a national feeling is required possessing an uniform inclination towards two principal points, regulating public will, and limiting public authority, the bounds of which are difficult to be assigned; but it may be supposed that the best rule for our direction is reciprocal restriction and concentration, so that there may be the least friction possible betwixt legitimate will and legitimate power.

Love of country, laws, and magistrates, ought to be the ruling passion in the breast of every republican. Venezuelans love their country, but not its laws, because they are bad, and the source of evil; and as little could they respect their magistrates, as the old ones were wicked, and the new ones are hardly known in the career they have commenced. If a sacred respect does not exist for country, laws, and constituted authorities, society is a state of confusion, an abyss, and a conflict of man with man, and of body with body.

To save our incipient Republic from such a chaos, all our moral powers will be insufficient, unless we melt the whole people down into one mass; the composition of the government is a whole, the legislation is a whole, and national feeling is a whole. Unity, Unity, Unity, ought to be our device. The blood of our citizens is various, let us mix it to make it one; our constitution has divided authority, let us agree to unite it; our laws are the sad remains of all ancient and modern despotisms, let the monstrous structure be demolished, let it fall, and, withdrawing from its ruins, let us erect a temple to justice, and, under the auspices of its sacred influence, let us dictate a code of Venezuelan laws. Should we wish to

consult records and models of legislation,—Great Britain, France, and North America, present us with admirable ones.

Popular education ought to be the first care of the Congress's paternal regard. Morals and knowledge are the cardinal points of a republic, and morals and knowledge are what we most want.

Let us take from Athens her Areopagus, and the guardians of customs and laws,—let us take from Rome her censors and domestic tribunals,—and, forming a holy alliance of those moral institutions, let us renew on earth the idea of a people not contented with being free and powerful, but which desires also to be virtuous.

Let us take from Sparta her austere establishments, and form from those three springs a reservoir of virtue.

Let us give our Republic a fourth power, with authority to preside over the infancy and hearts of men—public spirit, good habits, and republican morality. Let us constitute this Areopagus to watch over the education of youth and national instruction, to purify whatever may be corrupt in the Republic, —to impeach ingratitude, egotism, lukewarmness in the country's cause, sloth, and idleness,—and to pass judgment on the first germs of corruption and pernicious example.

We should correct manners with moral pain, the same as the law punishes crime with corporal,—not only what may offend, but what may ridicule; not only what may assault, but what may weaken; and not only what may violate the constitution, but whatever may infringe on public decency.

The jurisdiction of this really sacred tribunal ought to be effective in every thing regarding education and instruction, and only deliberative as to pains and punishments; and thus its annals and records, in which will be inscribed its acts and deliberations, and the moral principles and actions of citizens, will be the registers of virtue and vice,—registers which the people will consult in their elections, the magistrates in their determinations, and the judges in their decisions. Such an institution, however chimerical it may appear, is infinitely easier to realize than others of less utility to mankind, established by some ancient and modern legislators.

Legislators!—By the project of the constitution, which I respectfully submit to your consideration, you will discover the feeling by which it was dictated.

In proposing the division of our citizens into active and passive, I have endeavoured to excite national prosperity by industry's two great springs—labour and knowledge. Stimulated by those two powerful causes, the greatest difficulties may be overcome, and men made respectable and happy.

In imposing equitable and prudent restrictions on the primary and electoral assemblies, the first barrier is opposed to popular licentiousness, and thereby those injurious and tumultuous meetings avoided, which at all times have given rise to prejudicial consequences in the election, and which have of course been entailed on the magistrates and the Government, as the primordial act is generative of either the liberty or slavery of a people.

By increasing in the balance of power the weight of the Congress, by the number of legislators and the nature of the Senate, a fixed basis is betowed on this primary body of the nation, and it is invested with great importance for the exercise of its sovereign functions.

In separating distinctly the executive from the legislative power, it is not intended to sow division betwixt those supreme authorities, but to unite them with those bonds of harmony which proceed from independence.

In investing the executive with a power and authority much exceeding what it hitherto possessed, it is by no means intended to enable a despot to tyrannize over the Republic, but to prevent deliberative despotism becoming the immediate cause of a round of despotic changes, in which anarchy would be alternately replaced by oligarchy and monocracy.

In soliciting the independence of judges, the establishment of juries, and a new code, the security of civil liberty is requested; the most estimable, the most equitable, the most necessary, and in one word the only liberty, as without it all others are a nullity. An amendment is asked of the lamentable abuses in our judicature, and which derive their origin from the filthy sink of Spanish legislation, collected in various—

ages, and from various sources, equally from the productions of folly and of talent, equally the fruit of good sense and of extravagance, and equally the memorial of genius and of caprice. The judicial encyclopedia, that monster with ten thousand heads, which has hitherto been a rod of punishment to Spanish nations, is the fiercest calamity the anger of Heaven ever permitted that unfortunate empire to be afflicted with.

Meditating on the most efficient mode of regenerating the character and habits which tyranny and war have given us, I have dared to suggest a moral power, drawn from the remote ages of antiquity, and those obsolete laws which for some time maintained public virtue amongst the Greeks and Romans; and although it may be considered a mere whim of fancy, it is possible, and I flatter myself that you will not altogether overlook an idea, which, when meliorated by experience and knowledge, may prove of the greatest efficacy.

Terrified at the disunion which has hitherto existed, and must exist amongst us, from the subtle spirit characterizing the federative system, I have been induced to solicit you to adopt the concentration and union of all the states of Venezuela into one Republic, one and indivisible: A measure, in my opinion, urgent, vital, and saving; and of such a nature, that without it the fruit of our regeneration would be destruction.

It is my duty, Legislators, to present to you a just and faithful picture of my political, civil, and military administration; but to do so would tire your valuable attention too much, and rob you at this moment of time equally precious and pressing; and the secretaries of state will therefore give an account to the Congress of their various departments, and exhibit at the same time those documents and records necessary to illustrate every thing, and to make you thoroughly acquainted with the real and actual state of the Republic.

I will not notice the most momentous acts of my command, although they concern most of my countrymen, and will call your attention only to the last memorable revolution. Horrid, atrocious, and impious slavery, covered with her sable

mantle the land of Venezuela, and our atmosphere lowered with the dark gloomy clouds of the tempest, threatening a fiery deluge. I implored the protection of the God of nature, and at his almighty word the storm was dispelled. The day-star of liberty rose, slavery broke her chains, and Venezuela was surrounded with new and with grateful sons, who turned the instruments of her thrall and bondage into arms of freedom. Yes! those who were formerly slaves are now free; those who were formerly the enemies of our country are now its defenders.

I leave to your sovereign authority the reform or repeal of all my ordinances, statutes, and decrees; but I implore you to confirm the complete emancipation of the slaves, as I would beg my life or the salvation of the Republic.

To exhibit the military history of Venezuela, would be to bring to our recollection the history of republican heroism amongst the ancients; it would shew that Venezuela had made as brilliant sacrifices on the sacred altar of liberty. The noble hearts of our generous warriors have been filled with those sublime and honourable feelings which have ever been attributed to the benefactors of the human race. Not fighting for power or fortune, nor even glory, but for liberty alone, the title of Liberator of the Republic has been their highest recompense; having, in forming an association of those gallant heroes, instituted the Order of Liberators of Venezuela.—Legislators! to you it belongs to confer honours and decorations, and it is your duty to exercise that act of national gratitude.

Men who have given up all the benefits and advantages they formerly enjoyed, as a proof of their virtue and disinterestedness—men who have undergone every thing horrible in a most inhuman war, suffering the most painful privations and the cruelest anguish—men so deserving of their country, merit the attention of Government; and I have therefore given directions to recompense them out of the national property.

If I have acquired any portion of merit in the eyes of my countrymen, I entreat you, Representatives, to vouchsafe my

petition, as the reward of my feeble services; and let the Congress order a distribution of the national property, conformable to the ordonance I passed in the name of the Republic in favour of the military sons of Venezuela.

After our having in a succession of victories destroyed the Spanish armies, the Court of Madrid, in despair, vainly endeavoured to take by surprise the feelings of those magnanimous sovereigns who had just extirpated usurpation and tyranny in Europe, and who ought to protect the legitimacy and justice of the cause of America. Spain, unable to reduce us to submission by force of arms, had recourse to her insidious policy, and tried every perfidious art. Ferdinand humbled himself so far as to confess, that without the assistance of foreign aid he could not force us back under his ignominious yoke; a yoke which no mortal power can oblige us to submit to. Venezuela, convinced that she is in possession of sufficient strength to repel her oppressors, has declared, through the organ of Government, her fixed and final determination to fight to annihilation in defence of her political life, not only against Spain, but even against the universe, should the universe be so degraded as to assume the party of a destructive Government, whose only objects are an exterminating sword and the shrieks of the Inquisition—a Government, that desires not fertile regions, but deserts—not cities, but ruins—not subjects, but sepulchres. The declaration of the Republic of Venezuela is the most glorious, the most heroic, and the most dignified act of a free people; and it is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honour of laying it before Congress, sanctioned as it is by the unanimous approbation of the free people of the land.

Since the second epoch of the Republic, our armies wanted the necessaries of war; they were constantly void of arms and ammunition, and were at all times badly equipped; but at present the brave defenders of independence are not only armed with justice, but with power, and our troops may rank with the choicest in Europe, now that they possess equal means of destruction.

For these important advantages, we are indebted to the unbounded liberality of some generous foreigners, who, hearing the groans of suffering humanity, and seeing the cause of freedom, reason, and justice, ready to sink, could not remain quiet, but flew to our succour with their munificent aid and protection, and furnished the Republic with every thing needful to cause their philanthropical principles triumph. Those friends of mankind are the guardian geniuses of America, and to them we owe a debt of eternal gratitude, as well as a religious fulfilment of the several obligations contracted with them. The national debt, Legislators, is the deposit of the good faith, the honour, and the gratitude of Venezuela: respect it as the holy ark which encloses not only the rights of our benefactors, but the glory of our fidelity. Let us perish rather than fail, in any the smallest point, in the completion of those engagements, which have been the salvation of our country, and of the lives of her sons.

The union of New Grenada and Venezuela in one great state, has uniformly been the ardent wish of the people and governments of these Republics. The fortune of war has effected this junction so much desired by every American; and in fact we are incorporated. These sister-nations have intrusted to you their interests, rights, and destinies. In contemplating the union of this immense district, my mind rises with delight to the stupendous height necessary for viewing properly so wonderful a picture.

Flying from present and approaching times, my imagination plunges into future ages, in which I observe with admiration and amazement, the prosperity, the splendour, and the animation, which this vast region will have acquired:—My ideas are wafted on, and I see my beloved native land in the centre of the universe, expanding herself on her extensive coasts, between those Oceans which nature has separated, and which our country will have united with large and capacious canals. I see her the bond, the centre, and the emporium of the human race;—I see her transmitting to earth's remotest bounds, those treasures contained in her mountains of gold and silver;—I see her distributing, by her salutiferous

plants, health and life to the afflicted of the Old World;—I see her imparting to the sages of other regions her inestimable secrets, ignorant until then how much her height of knowledge transcends her excessive wealth!—Yes; I see her, seated on the throne of freedom, wielding the sceptre of justice, and crowned with glory, shew the Old World the majesty of the New.

Legislators!—Condescend to receive with indulgence the declaration of my political creed; the highest wishes of my heart and earnest petition, which in the name of the people I have dared to address you.

Vouchsafe to grant to Venezuela a government purely popular, purely just, and purely moral, which will enchain oppression, anarchy, and crime. A government which will cause innocency, philanthropy, and peace to reign. A government, which, under the dominion of inexorable laws, will cause equality and liberty to triumph.

Gentlemen!—Commence your duties, I have finished mine.

The Congress of the Republic of Venezuela is installed; in it from this moment is centered the national sovereignty—we all owe to it obedience and fidelity—My sword, and those of my illustrious fellows in arms, will maintain its august authority.

God save the Congress!

After a few days Bolivar departed to take the command of the army, which had concentrated itself on the banks of the Apure. Morillo having united his forces with La Torre, Morales, and Calzada, with the intention of cutting his way to Angostura, crossed the Apure on the 25th January 1819, at the head of 5000 men. Bolivar, in order to draw the enemy into the interior, retired behind the Arauca. On the 5th Morillo passed that river, the inhabitants all retiring before him, after having destroyed their houses,

provisions, &c. The Spanish general, who began to find his resources fail him, sent a detachment of 600 men to procure provisions: these fell into an ambuscade laid for them by Paez, and were cut off to a man. Unable to procure subsistence for his troops, all his foraging parties being cut up by Paez's guerillas, Morillo was under the necessity of commencing his retreat on the 15th of February. Paez, the indefatigable Paez, hung upon his rear, and harassed him considerably. The Spanish general proceeded as far as Achaguas, an island on the Apure, where he encamped.

While these things were passing on the continent, M'Gregor, the same who had accompanied Bolivar in his expedition from Aux Cayes in 1816, fitted out an expedition from England, in which 300 English volunteers embarked, determined to strike some blow of importance on the Spanish Main. For this purpose he proceeded to the Gulf of Mexico, rightly judging that the seat of war having been always far removed from that quarter, he should find the royalist possessions there more defenceless than those situated farther eastward. Nor was he disappointed. When he appeared before Porto Bello, one of the strongest fortifications in the Spanish colonies, he met with very slight resistance from the few black troops of which the royalist garrison consisted; the fortress being evacuated almost as soon as he made his appearance. So far the patriot arms were successful; but this success was not of long duration,

owing to the negligence, the want of order and discipline observed by the general, by whom the greatest excesses of the troops were permitted, or at least allowed to go unpunished. The royalist general Hore, who was in the environs of the town, perceiving the supineness and inattention of the patriots, determined to take advantage of it; and, a few days after, surprised them so effectually, that the major part of the officers were made prisoners in their beds, and M'Gregor himself only escaped by jumping out of a window naked, and swimming to an English vessel which at that time was lying in the harbour. This shameful conduct deserves no comment.

In consequence of a defeat which a body of troops, that were coming from Santa Fé to join Morillo, sustained from Santander, who commanded the independent force in that quarter, and the setting in of the rainy season, the Spanish general was compelled to leave Achaguas, and retreat to San Carlos. Santander then advanced towards Tunja, where the inhabitants had collected a considerable sum to pay for the supplies, ammunition, stores, &c. which they had received from Venezuela.

We insert the following law, which was about this time promulged, as it will give our readers an opportunity of contrasting the conduct of the Colombian Government, with that which their enemies have manifested towards those unfortunate republicans who have fallen into their power.

LAW, &c.

The Sovereign Congress, being desirous to alleviate, as much as possible, the inevitable evils the people experience by the war; to draw over those Americans who, ignorant of the duties they owe to their country, continue blindly to sustain the cause of the King; and at the same time to open our doors to hundreds of Spaniards who, in a state of compulsion, are fighting against us, but whose principles are identified with our own—has, and hereby does decree, as follows:—

Article 1. No person, American or Spaniard, who sincerely presents himself to any of the chiefs of troops belonging to the Republic, at the time any district is freed from the enemy, shall be molested in his person or property, whatsoever may be the class or condition of the person who so presents himself, and whatever may have been his previous conduct.

2. Any individual, American or Spaniard, in the service of the King, who shall embrace the party of the Republic, shall retain his rank, distinction, and class.

3. The lives and properties of the inhabitants of any district liberated, as well as sacred things, monuments, and public establishments, archives, &c. shall be respected and protected.

4. The chiefs of the divisions who may occupy districts so liberated, are answerable for the religious and exact observance of this law.

Decree.—The Sovereign Congress has issued the preceding law, commanding that it be solemnly published, printed, and circulated in the ordinary form, in order that it may be made known to all persons, and observed in the manner therein prescribed. Let the same be notified to the Executive Power, in order that the necessary steps may be taken for its observance.

Given in the Palace of the Sovereign Congress, and Capital of Guayana, 18th June 1819.

(Signed) Fernando de Penalver, Vice-President.
Diego Valenilla, Sec. and Dep.

About this time the Republic had to deplore the loss of Don Manuel Palacio, who had lately returned to Angostura from a mission to Europe, on which he had been sent by the patriots some years before. Upon his arrival he had been appointed secretary for foreign affairs. His scientific attainments and amiable manners endeared him to all who had the happiness of his acquaintance; and his patriotic sentiments and ardent love of his country were eminently developed in a life which, ever since the breaking out of the Revolution, had been incessantly devoted to its service and welfare.

Morillo, still intent upon taking Angostura, which he had in vain attempted in a former part of the year, dispatched a body of his best troops, amounting to 1500, selected for the purpose, under Colonel Arana, to take it, if possible, by a *coup-de-main*. They were then to destroy it. Mariño, immediately upon receiving intelligence of his approach, marched forward at the head of 1300 men to cover the town. Mariño headed his troops in the attack, and completely defeated the Spaniards. The following is his official communication to the Government:—

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency of the decisive victory obtained this moment by the troops under my command, over the Spanish army commanded by Colonel Arana, composed of all the forces in this province.—Upwards of 1000 slain, besides ammunition, baggage, &c. taken.

Canthara, June 12.

Bermudez, a short time after, defeated a body of royalists, amounting to nearly 600 men, who, ignorant of the defeat he had received, were proceeding to join Arana.

On the 14th July the squadron under Brion left Margarita, having on board General English's division, and 300 Margaritarians. The batteries of the Morro of Barcelona were soon after taken by assault by these troops. The attack was commanded by Colonel Urslar, and the object was effected with the loss of only eleven men and two officers. Urslar was left to act as governor.

Bolivar, who had left Angostura in May to proceed to New Grenada, effected his junction with Santander on the 15th June. On the 30th his head-quarters were at Paya, whence he dispatched the following official letter to the Vice-President of the Republic.—

Head-quarters, Paya, June 30. 1819.

Simon Bolivar, President of the State, Captain-General of Venezuela and of New Grenada, &c. &c. to his Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic.

Since my last, dated at Guadalito, there has not happened any thing important in this army. Our operations have been directed solely to the progress of our march through friendly countries, until the 27th instant, when we attacked the advanced guard which the enemy had posted here, of 300 men. This event has been the opening of the campaign in New Grenada; and if the first attempt can be considered a presage of the ultimate issue, we have reason to look for a favourable one;—300 picked men of the enemy's troops have been dis-

lodged from a position, so strong by nature, that 100 men might have defended it against 1000.

The advantages we have derived from this victory are confined to the possession of the defile, the enemy having escaped by fording the river Paya, immediately in his rear; he lost, however, some killed, and his provisions. But this victory has not been the only cause of the satisfaction of the army, or that which has cost us most fatigue. The principal obstacles we have had to overcome arose from the roads:—we have marched a whole month through the province of Casanare, vanquishing new impediments every day, that appeared to increase as we advanced. It is miraculous that we have had the good fortune to get so far without accident, notwithstanding our having traversed a multitude of navigable rivers, which inundated a great part of the road in the plains. This was the chief difficulty on our march, and when got over, the rest we expected would be trifling; but we soon met with new obstacles, which nothing but a perseverance and constancy above proof could have vanquished. The roughness of the mountains we passed over is incredible to those who have not seen them. To form an idea of the route, suffice it to say, that in four days' progress the carriages of the park of artillery were rendered useless, and the draft cattle for relays all perished. The inclemency of the weather also added to the difficulties of the road—it rained almost day and night.

In fine, although our march is not terminated, we may flatter ourselves that the worst is past, and that we touch at the term of our fatigues. We hope to get to Sogamozo in eight days at farthest, where our situation will be much improved.

Every report we receive from New Grenada raises our hopes and expectations. They all uniformly affirm, that in the interior of the country there are a multitude of guerillas which incessantly molest the enemy, who is so much in dread of us, that the inhabitants are most impatient for our arrival. If these reports can be depended upon, (and we have no reason to doubt them), our campaign will soon be finished gloriously. Nothing can detain us if the population of the country

is friendly. The enemy's force is not sufficient to restrain the peasantry.

General Paez has reported to me, dated the 15th instant, that he had beaten the faction at Guaca, burned the village, and destroyed all their ground provisions:—he was preparing to march against Pedraza, in quest of a division of the enemy of 700 men that had ventured on to that place; and he hopes (if he has the good fortune to fall in with them) to give a good account of them.

I have no advices from your Excellency subsequent to the 1st of May, which is the date of your last official.

(Signed) BOLIVAR.

On the 25th of July a bulletin was issued, notifying a signal victory which the arms of the Republic had obtained over the Spaniards near the city of Tunja, of which the following is a copy:—

BULLETIN, No. 2.

July 25. 1819.

As soon as some columns had joined, which were not in the march of Garnesa, the army moved on the department of Santa Rosa, with the intention of taking possession of that fertile district, and of commanding the valley of Sogamozo. This movement obliged the enemy to abandon his position at Peña de Topaga, and fall back on the mills of Bonza, in the immediate vicinity of the city of Tunja. On the 20th our army presented itself on the front of the enemy's positions, which were excellent, from the breast-works and fosses which the walls and broken ground afforded him. All our attempts to dislodge the enemy produced no other effect than our continually beating in the guerillas sent out to oppose us.

At five this morning the army marched by the road of Salitre de Paypa, to attack the enemy sword in hand, and force him to abandon his defences. At ten the army suc-

ceeded in passing the river Sogamozo, and at twelve met the enemy, who had moved towards us.

Circumstances obliged us to take up a most extraordinarily unfavourable position, in which we were attacked with impetuosity by the whole Spanish army of New Grenada.

The first battalion of the King's, with some companies of the second, marched on our left, and to them were opposed the two battalions of the van. At the same time the enemy moved on our front the second and third battalions of Numantia, the remains of the Tambo, and the regiment of dragoons of Grenada, where they were attacked by a column of the rear, at the head of which were some companies of the British legion, who charged with such intrepidity, that the enemy was at once beaten and dispersed. By a vigorous rally, he renewed the battle with desperation, made himself master of the heights; and our army, almost surrounded, suffered a horrible fire on all sides. Any other troops than those of the Republic would have lost so brilliant a victory as that we have gained. A column of cavalry, headed by the brave Commander Rondon, destroyed a part of the enemy's infantry, our infantry at the time doing the same with that in our rear; and another part of our cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant Carvajal, charged that of the enemy on the high-road.

The Spanish army was dislodged from every point it occupied, and the excellent position taken up by the remains of his cavalry alone saved it from total destruction. The battle continued until sunset, with an obstinacy and *acharnement* of which no idea can be formed. The enemy lost in killed and wounded five hundred of his best troops, and left in our possession a multitude of prisoners, muskets, lances, ammunition cases, military chest, trumpets, and two standards of the dragoons of Grenada, without being able to calculate accurately the number dispersed.

Our loss consists of one hundred and four in killed and wounded.

Every corps in the army has distinguished itself; but a particular mention is due to the conduct of Commandant

Rondon and Lieutenant Carvajal; and likewise to that of the British companies, to whom his Excellency the President of the Republic, notwithstanding it was the first time they had fought under our banners, has granted the star of liberators, in testimony of their steadiness and gallantry.

We are now in possession of the whole province of Tunja, with the exception of the capital, and those of Socorro and Pamplona are entirely free; the remainder of the country is in insurrection. The towns of New Grenada have received the liberating army with the most extraordinary enthusiasm. All are determined to be free; and the army, surrounded by towns so patriotic and decided, stands in need of nothing.

Names of Officers killed.

Van Division—Mateo Franco, Lieutenant of Cazadores.

Rear Division—Lieut.-Col. José Ximenes, and Captains Ramon, Garcia, and Manuel Orta.

British Legion—Lieutenant Cazeley.

Officers wounded.

Van Division—Adjutant Pedro Torneros, and Sub-lieutenants Manuel Linares and Manuel Sara, of the Cazadores, and Captain Encarnacion Ruis, of the Cavalry.

Rear Division—Colonel Justo Brizeno, Lieut.-Col. Arthur Sands, Capt. Manuel Ferron, Brigade-Major Manuel Crespo, Lieut. Vicente Belandia, and Sub-lieutenants Nonato Freytes, Paulaleon Flores, and Juan Sylva, of the Infantry; Lieutenants Manuel Delgadillo and José Rico, and Cornet Mileton Escalona, of the Cavalry.

British Legion—Col. James O'Rooke and Sub-lieutenant MacManus, and Captain Daniel F. O'Leary, on the Staff of the Rear Division.

Head-quarters, on the Heights of Vargas.

(Signed) Manuel Manrique,
Adjutant-General in Charge of the Staff.

The army of the independents at last, after many severe battles, succeeded in capturing the

city of Santa Fé on the 11th of August. A better knowledge of the important events which led to this brilliant success, may be collected from the original bulletins, which we here annex, than from any thing we can say upon the subject.

BULLETIN, No. 4.—BATTLE OF BOJACA.

YESTERDAY, at day-break, the advanced posts reported that the enemy were marching by the Samaca road. The army immediately got under arms, and as soon as it was ascertained that it was his intention to pass the Bridge of Bojaca, to open his communication, and place himself in contact with the capital, we marched by the great road to intercept him, or oblige him to come to action.

At two P. M. the first division of the enemy got to the bridge, when our videttes of cavalry shewed themselves. The enemy, who could not yet see our force, and supposed himself in presence of a corps of observation only, attacked with his cazadores, while the main body of his army continued to move on. Our divisions marched forward in double quick time, and, to the enemy's great surprise, our whole infantry appeared in column, on an eminence commanding the position. The enemy's advance had got up a part of the road in pursuit of our videttes, and the rest was below at about a quarter of a league distant from the bridge, and shewed a force of about 3000 men. The battalion of cazadores of our advance, detached a company in guerilla, while the remainder in column attacked the enemy's cazadores, and drove them back precipitately to an old ruin, from which they were dislodged; he then passed the bridge, and took up a position on the opposite side. In the mean time, our infantry descended from the eminence, and the cavalry kept its march by the road. The enemy then attempted a movement from his right, but was opposed by the rifle corps and the British company. The first battalion of Barcelona, and the Bravo of

Paez, with the squadron of the upper plains, formed the centre. The battalion of the line of New Grenada, and the guides of the rear, united to the battalion of cazadores, were on the left: the columns of Tunja and Socorro were in reserve.

Immediately the action became general throughout the line. General Auzuategui directed the operations of the centre and of the right: he attacked a battalion which the enemy had deployed in guerilla, in a glen, and obliged it to retire to its line, which, now in column on an eminence, with three pieces of cannon in the centre, and two corps of cavalry, waited our attack.

The troops in our centre, notwithstanding a severe fire from some force of the enemy on our left flank, attacked his main body: he kept up a heavy fire, but our troops, in the most audacious style, executing their movements with the best discipline, surrounded the whole of the enemy's corps. The squadron of the upper plains charged with its usual bravery: From that moment all the efforts of the Spanish general were unavailing; and he was driven from his position. The company of mounted grenadiers, all Spaniards, were the first that fled. The infantry attempted to form on a neighbouring hill, but were immediately destroyed. A corps of cavalry in reserve waited for ours, with their lances prepared to charge, and were totally cut to pieces; and finally, the whole Spanish army, in complete *deroute,* and hemmed in on every side, laid down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war. Nearly at the same time, simultaneously, General Santander, who commanded the left, and who had met with a temerarious resistance from the enemy's vanguard, to which he had only to oppose his cazadores with some companies of the line, by the guides of the rear passed the bridge, and completed the victory.

The whole of the enemy's army are prisoners. General Barreyro, commander in chief of the forces in New Grenada, and his second in command, Colonel Ximenez, almost all the commanders and chiefs of corps, a multitude of subalterns, and above 1,000 men are prisoners, with their arms, ammunition, cavalry, &c. Not above 50 men, with some officers

of cavalry, who fled before the battle was decided, have escaped. The commander in chief, Barreyro, was taken by Pedro Martinez, a private of the rifle corps.

General Santander, with the advance, and the guides of the reserve, proceeded instantly, in pursuit of the fugitives, to this place; and General Auzuategui, with the rest of the army, remained during the night on the field of battle. The advantages obtained by the Republic in yesterday's glorious victory are incalculable.

Our troops never gained a more decisive triumph, and they have been seldom opposed to troops better disciplined, or better commanded.

Nothing is comparable to the intrepidity displayed by General Auzuategui, at the head of two battalions, and a squadron of cavalry, with which he attacked, and made prisoners, the main body of the enemy: to him we are in great measure indebted for the victory.

General Santander directed his manœuvre with judgment and bravery. The regiment Bravo of Paez, and first of Barcelona, and the squadron of the upper plains, fought with distinguished valour. The columns of Tunja and Socorro joined the right at the moment of victory. In fine, his Excellency is highly satisfied with the conduct of the chiefs, officers, and soldiers of the Libertador army, on this memorable day.

Principal Head-quarters, at Venta Quemada, the 8th August 1819.

P. Soublette, Chief of the Staff.

BULLETIN, No. 5.—Battle of Bojaca.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mugica, with the corps of dragoons and guides, continued the pursuit of the enemy early on the morning of the 8th. At eleven o'clock the same day, his Excellency followed with the cavalry of the upper plains, and joined in Choconti. On the 9th all the infantry marched. On the 10th, his Excellency, on his arrival at the bridge of the Comun, received intelligence from the capital, that the Viceroy, the Royal Audience, with the guard of honour, and

the regiment of the cazadores of Aragon, with all the persons in the employment of Government, civil and military, had abandoned it (the capital) on the morning of the 9th, leaving the place in the greatest confusion and alarm. His Excellency expedited his march, and entered the capital on the same day amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who wanted words to express their happiness, and who, after three years of the most cruel oppression, could scarcely believe in the reality of so sudden and unexpected a delivery. The streets and squares were crowded with people, eager to see his Excellency, and to be assured of the truth. The Viceroy Samano has taken the direction of the Honda, and Calzada is gone to the south. All the cavalry and the corps of reserve are pursuing in every direction; and there is good reason to hope that none will escape. The army Libertador has performed what it undertook in this campaign. In 75 days' march from the village of Mantecal, in the province of Varinas, his Excellency has made his entry into the capital of the New Kingdom, after having overcome difficulties and obstacles much greater than could be foreseen when this expedition was undertaken, and destroyed an army three times superior in number to the invaders.

The precipitation with which the Viceroy and his satellites fled on the first news of the issue of the battle of Bojaca, prevented his saving any thing of the public treasure. In the mint we have found above half a million of dollars, in metal; and in the other public buildings, all the material of war to equip a numerous army. The liberty of New Grenada has infallibly established that of all South America, and the year 1819 will be the period of the war which Spain has waged against us, with such violations of humanity, since the year 1810.

The General in Chief of the Staff,
SOUBLETTE.

Head-quarters, Santa Fé, the 11th of Aug. 1819.—9th.

Throughout the whole extent of the kingdom of New Grenada, the arms of the Republic were

victorious, and the head-quarters were now in the city of Santa Fé, whence his Excellency the President dates the following dispatch to his Excellency the Vice-President.

Head-quarters, Santa Fé, August 14. 1819.

Simon Bolivar, President of the Republic, Captain-General of the forces at Venezuela and New Grenada, to his Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic.

From the period I conceived the project of marching the army into the interior of this kingdom, I was well aware that the apprehensions of the Spaniards would excite them to put all their resources into action; and this opinion, founded on the experience of my own observations, was soon confirmed by the military returns of the Viceroy, which we had the good fortune to intercept. By them I discovered that a very superior force of well disciplined troops was collected on the frontiers, as a barrier intended to repulse, and finally destroy, the valiant Libertador army. I calculated nevertheless, that the cruelties and oppressions which had been so inhumanly inflicted on the people of all classes, must have prepared their feelings for uniting in the cause of their heroic deliverers; and, in fact, I had just passed the Cordillera which separates the plains from the province of Casanare, when I was saluted with the benedictions of thousands, eagerly expecting the army with all the enthusiasm of men sighing for liberty, as the only remedy for all the calamities and afflictions they had suffered, and which had wound them up to the highest degree of exasperation. An able officer at the head of from 4,000 to 5,000 warriors, was the first to meet me in the field of battle. General Don Jose Maria Barreyro, to whom the command of this corps was confided, did all that bravery, tactics, and discipline could accomplish; but these only served to add new lustre to the arms of the Republic. The discipline of his troops, the advantageous position they occupied, and the extent of his resources, clearly demonstrated, that our

enterprise could only be completed by dint of perseverance and intrepidity; qualities of which the army of the Republic had evinced proofs on so many occasions. The battle of Bojaca, in which we have obtained the most signal victory, has decided the fate of the people in this kingdom. After destroying the royal army even to its elements, I have come to this capital to meet my fellow-citizens, who I find all emulous in their expressions of gratitude, and ready to unite their efforts to ours for the extermination of our common enemy; taking arms, and precipitating themselves in pursuit of the fugitives to make prisoners. The circumstantial details of those triumphs will be found in the impressions enclosed. My sensibility was not a little excited, on my arrival here, to see the marks of the depredations and instruments of the cruelties committed by the proselytes of the Peninsula. The Viceroy Samano, attended by all who held situations under his government, the greater part of the Spaniards, and all that remained of the military, had fled from the city on the first news of our victory; but before I entered the capital, I had dispatched some divisions to the south and west (the routes they had taken), and hope that few will escape. Notwithstanding the general devastation this kingdom has suffered, the Republic may reckon on a million of dollars in metalics, exclusive of the immense sum to be realized from the property, public and private, of the malcontents who have fled.

I am actively employed regulating the interior economy; and the fine disposition of the people, among whom there is scarcely one enemy, incites me to think that the power of the foe is for ever annihilated.

Your Excellency and the Republic will be pleased to receive my cordial felicitations, and the prayers of the illustrious Grenadinos, (who only aspire to enjoy our mutual happiness on this great event), condescending at same time to present to the Supreme Congress the triumphs of the victory obtained by the army under my command, as a tribute of my duty.

May God preserve your Excellency many years.

Bolivar.

While these events were passing in New Grenada, Paez was keeping the enemy fully employed in the interior of Venezuela; as the following letter to Bolivar will sufficiently testify.

EXCELLENT SIR,

WITH reference to my anterior dispatch I have now to state, that on the 10th instant I moved my head-quarters from the island of Achaguas, keeping on the side of the Apure. My intention was to proceed to Nutrias to attack and beat that garrison; and to that intent the English infantry, and some country troops lately recruited, were marched, forming with the cavalry a respectable division. On the 16th we got to the ford Mamporal, and having found it impossible to get on with the infantry, on account of the inundation of the Savanas, I sent back the infantry to Achaguas, and proceeded with the cavalry only, with a view of making an attempt on Guanare, and other points of the west of Caracas. For the better success of this operation, I directed Colonel Arismendi to make a demonstration on the capital of Varinas with the regiment of La Muerte, to disperse or distract the force he had beaten some days before. On the 17th I continued my march by the road to this village, which our guides reported to be the best, and having progressed three days successively, without finding at any place a supply of provisions for the troops, or even a spot of dry land to pass the night, we encamped on the 19th at night, at a league from this village, where I received advice from my videttes, that a division of the enemy, consisting of three hundred and fifty infantry, and some carabineers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Duran, had just taken possession of the town, for the double intent of beating the guerillas we keep up in this neighbourhood, to burn the village, destroy the plantations, and carry off the inhabitants prisoners to Hutrins. I immediately prepared to give him a lesson, and at day light on the 20th we broke up the encampment, and made my dispositions for the attack. The line formed *en battaille*. I ordered Lieutenant-colonel

Cornelio Muñoz to command the right, at the head of my own guard of honour; Colonel A. Rangel the left, with the regiment of Valientes; and General Torres the centre, with the hussars dismounted. The enemy formed in a square on the place, made a very obstinate resistance, repulsing our attacks even with the bayonet; but foreseeing his destruction inevitable, from the great number of killed and wounded falling round him, he retired in good order, though under a heavy fire, to a casa-fuerte, or block-house, where he was protected from the continuance of the attack. I then prepared to assault him, by forming four columns of light cavalry dismounted, who, dashing on simultaneously at all hazards, got to the house, and attacked with the greatest bravery; some with their sabres cutting down the doors and windows, others with stakes endeavouring to pull down the walls; but they were so much exposed to the fire from within, by the *creneaux*, and other incidents, that they were obliged to retire. Again, however, they renewed the assault; but perceiving it would be impossible to carry the place for want of proper tools, I ordered them off, while the cry was "Death or Victory!" and made them sensible that bravery without prudence would give the palm to the enemy, assuring them, that if they would confide in me, the place should be carried before morning; that in the mean time they should repose a little, and be prepared to reap the fruits of their valour. The cavalry being then reconcentred, I placed four guerillas of dismounted hussars in the nearest houses in front, with orders to fire at every thing that presented itself, and chiefly at the windows of the casa-fuerte. This was punctually obeyed, to the great annoyance of the enemy during all the day, during which a path to the house was discovered in the rear, covered with brushwood, which had escaped our observation during the assaults of the morning. At night-fall the columns of cavalry were again formed for the attack, and making a feint in front, the real assault was made by the path in the rear, when, notwithstanding the formidable resistance of the enemy, every thing was carried, and a victory obtained of eternal honour to the arms of the Republic. It was impossible to restrain the fury of the

troops, who bayonetted every enemy opposed to them, and none escaped except the commanding officer (badly wounded) and about 30 men, favoured by a dark rainy night, and the direction of that ungrateful American Captain Yazza, who served them as a guide; but I immediately detached a guerilla in pursuit, and hope to have a good account of them. Among the enemy's officers killed is Captain Torres, a very distinguished Spanish officer. The issue of this affair has been most favourable. We have taken all the stores, 200 stand of arms, and the whole division has been annihilated. Many wounded have been since discovered in the thickets.

Our loss consists of five officers, four sergeants, and twenty rank and file killed; and eleven officers, and eighty-five rank and file wounded. Among the former we lament the brave Colonel Urquiola, who fell gloriously fulfilling his duty as a patriot; Lieutenant-colonel Navarro; Captain Pedro Juan Gamarra, and Lieutenant Pedro Gomez, whose memory will long live in this army. Of the latter are Colonel Juan Gomez, Lieut.-Colonel Manuel Arraiz, Capt. Ramon Estevez, Lieut. Fructuer Estevez, and Sub-lieutenants Ronaldo Salar, Encarnacion Castillo, Eusebio Ledesma, Julian Pena, Leon Estevez,—Prego Oliva, and Juan Asprè.

I should be wanting in my duty did I omit recommending to your Excellency the brilliant and distinguished valour displayed by General Torres, the brave Colonel Rangel, Colonel Munon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurencio Silva, who were the first to assault and tear down the windows with their sabres; and Colonel Carmona, Lieut.-Col. Josef Maria Augule, Lieut.-Col. Jacinto Imrabad, and Lieutenant Thomas Curtejon, for their bravery and perseverance throughout the action; and indeed the whole corps, both officers and soldiers, were emulous to distinguish themselves in obtaining so complete a victory.

Be pleased to receive and accept this official as a tribute to the Republic, that its brave defenders may be known.

JOSE ANTONIO PAEZ.

Head-quarters, at the village of La Cruz, July 21. 1819.

General Auzuategui pursued the royalists who had fled from Santa Fé as far as Nare on the banks of the river of the same name. Colonel Plaza was dispatched in pursuit of Calzada, who had retired towards Popayan. The provinces of Neyva and Maraquita, the former to the south, the latter to the north of Bogota, declared their freedom.

On the 28th of August an army was marched to Popayan; another against Santa Martha; and a third for the Apure, through the valleys of Cucuta, to join Paez. Cucuta had been shortly before occupied by Soublette.

Bolivar, profiting by his past experience, determined to prosecute the war vigorously; and wisely considered all that he had already acquired only as the means of obtaining more. For this purpose he remitted 300,000 dollars to Angostura, to purchase muskets to arm the crowds that flocked to his standard from all parts of New Grenada. The command of the western army on the Apure was given to Paez; and the eastern army was placed under Mariño. Bermudez, the second in command, was dispatched to bring troops from Margarita to Maturin.

In the month of July of this year, D'Evereux sailed with troops, to the amount of 5000 men, from Liverpool, to join the independents in Colombia. Previous to this, several vessels had arrived in the Spanish Main, laden, if we may be allowed the expression, with officers and men.

Little enough of the real condition of America is known now: much less was known then. They had heard of America as the country of gold and silver; they had read of the mines of Peru and of Mexico; and they conceived that little more was necessary than to present themselves, to acquire some share of those riches the Spaniards had kept so long to themselves. The majority of these *soi-disant* officers, one-half, nay I may venture to say, two-thirds of whom had never fired a gun in their lives, were heartily tired of the undertaking before half the voyage was over. The discipline which the colonels of the different regiments, who in general had been officers in the British service, endeavoured to introduce among them, was intolerable to men who had no idea of restraint, and who entered into a military life, not with any intention of continuing in it, but solely with the view of making money enough to get out of it as quickly as they could. One can easily conceive what their disappointment must have been, when, instead of meeting with an army accompanied with those comforts which an English soldier expects, and is accustomed to have, they found men who, with a blanket thrown across their shoulders, were prepared to brave all the inclemencies of a tropical campaign. Instead of finding their dreams of wealth and fortune realized, with what surprise must they have heard, that the native troops always fought without pay, and that Bolivar probably at that period had not 1000 dollars in his treasury.

The complaints of the parties who had gone out proceeded also from the majority of them being persons of discontented habits, and from their assuming a degree of consequence and authority quite inconsistent with any subordination. But even when their complaints have been well founded, their disappointments have proceeded from the positive distress and difficulty the country had to encounter.

In respect to D'Evereux's expedition, the most fruitful source of all the complaints and disappointments, it is sufficient to say, that without the least previous arrangement with the Government, or notice of any kind to any party concerned, 2000 men were landed at Margarita, a barren island, always depending on foreign supplies for its provisions. A greater piece of insanity was never committed; and the Government was blamed for all this.

Disappointed patriot officers consequently made a regular trade of writing and publishing their miseries when they returned to England; well knowing that there was nobody there who could have the means of contradicting in detail any of their statements.

Upon Morillo's receiving intelligence of the march of Bolivar for New Grenada, he, by way of Merida, instantly dispatched La Torre to take the command there. He arrived at Cúcuta on the 4th of August; but on the 10th Bolivar was in possession of Santa Fé, of Barreyro and his army.

Don Jose Bausa, who was governor of Pamplona, quickly evacuated it; and Antioquia and Popayan soon after declared their independence. Tolca, the governor of the former, fled towards Carthagena with 100.men, but was shortly after taken prisoner at the Peñon, together with 14 mules laden with coined money.

Bolivar soon after this proposed an exchange of prisoners to the Viceroy; but this was not ratified, as the Viceroy fled almost immediately after the battle of Bojaca.

On the 21st of September, Santander, who had been left as governor of Santa Fé, addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants of New Grenada.

FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER, of the Order of the Liberators of Venezuela and New Grenada, honoured with the Cross of Boyaca, General of Division of the Armies of the Republic, and Vice-President of the Free Provinces of New Grenada, &c.

PROCLAMATION.

GRENADANS!—Liberty, which, four months ago, I offered to you from Casanare, is now restored to you. The tyrants have disappeared; the blood of our countrymen has been in part avenged; and you are in possession of your most sacred rights. In the space of forty days, an army of heroes and a chief accustomed to conquer, to triumph over difficulties, and to burst the chains of enslaved nations, have achieved all this for your welfare.

Grenadans!—Record for ever that your regeneration in 1819 is the wórk of the immortal Bolivar. For ever re-

member, that your slavery in 1816 was the result of apathy, of overweening confidence, of intrigue, and disunion. The good which you enjoy is immense: it has already cost you much to be free; but it would cost you more to be slaves again.

Fellow countrymen!—Fate, and the extreme goodness of the Chief of the nation, have conferred on me the high destiny of governing you. I cannot offer you more than an ardent desire to preserve your native country, and my coöperation with the liberators in defending it. I solemnly declare, that New Grenada shall never again be blotted out from the list of free nations, by the influence of those vices which before reduced it to slavery.

Your exertions, Grenadans, are necessary, are indispensable. Without them the Government is a defenceless body. Ministers of religion, soldiers, merchants, agriculturists—every Grenadan! if each of you contribute not to sustain the country in such a manner as your condition and your faculties exact of you in rigorous obligation, reckon again on the repetition, in your native country, of horrors, and of scenes of blood more frightful than those which you have seen exhibited; an eternal stain will fall upon your memory, and the malediction of posterity; because, in that case, you will not have made the sacrifices which you owe to independence and to liberty.

E. P. Santander.

Santa Fé de Bogota, September 21. 1819.

The following decree, which was published at this period, we have inserted here, as the best answer to the numerous imputations of ingratitude towards British officers and troops who have entered into their service, with which the Colombian Republic has been assailed. It affords undeniable evidence of the good intentions of the

Government towards those who have meritoriously exerted themselves in the independent cause.

JUAN BAUTISTA ARISMENDI, Vice-President of the Republic, &c.

HAVING taken into consideration the distinguished merit acquired with the Republic by foreign troops fighting under our banners, the just rights they have to a remuneration for their services, and the inviolability that ought to be observed in the contracts under which they were embarked in Europe, in order to come to Venezuela, with a view to defend our liberty, I have been induced to decree as follows:—

Article 1. The foreign troops who have come to Venezuela, by virtue of the contracts made by the commissioners of the Supreme Chief, are, and constitute part of the army of the Republic; and as such enjoy the same rights, pre-eminences, and privileges as the natives of the country.

2. In consequence of said article, they shall enjoy all the distributions of national property decreed to them by the law promulgated on 10th October 1817, by his Excellency the President, then Supreme Chief, assigning to each soldier 500 dollars; and so in proportion to the other classes and officers of the army.

3. The conditions stipulated for their conveyance out with the said commissioners shall be exactly fulfilled, and the advances made by each individual shall be paid on account of the national funds.

4. For this purpose the chiefs and commanders of foreign detachments shall immediately transmit to the Government the contracts they may have in their possession, and also an exact list of all the troops and officers, stating the sums due to each, from the day they arrived in Venezuela.

5. If, through the arrears usually experienced during a campaign, owing to the distance of the centre of Government and the difficulty of communications, the whole of the rations and subsistence agreed on should not have been made up, the Government remains answerable to pay the deficiency in money, or as each individual may wish.

6. The War Minister shall be charged with the execution of this decree, which shall be printed, published, and circulated by the authorities to whom it may belong.

Given in the palace of Government, in the capital of Guyana, 11th October 1819.

(Signed) JUAN BAUTISTA ARISMENDI, Vice-President.
DIEGO B. URBANEJA, Minister of War.

After this decree, the annexed proclamation was addressed to the British legion.

J. B. ARISMENDI, Member of the Order of Liberators, Captain-General of the Armies, and Vice-President of the State, &c.

Government House at Maturin, November 23. 1819.

GENEROUS STRANGERS!—A noble sentiment of justice has caused you to leave your native land. Scarcely did you know that Venezuela was struggling for her liberty and independence, when you left your homes to enrol yourselves under her banners. Born freemen, you detested alike tyranny and tyrants.

The Republic of Venezuela esteems you as her sons, and has made you equal partakers of the rights, privileges, and of the recompense due to the liberators.

Our armies, conducted by the President of the State, have liberated New Grenada. Your brave companions, who accompanied him in this glorious enterprise, have behaved like heroes, and have already received the reward of their labours.

His Excellency the President is once more in the territory of Venezuela, at the head of an army equally numerous and well provided; and I have come in person to send you to the field of honour for the purpose of acquiring new glories. I have come to march and join you with the powerful army of the East, which, under the orders of the brave General in Chief, Mariño, will drive the enemies of liberty from their last intrenchments.

Subordination, respect for the laws of Venezuela, the most strict discipline, and the most cordial and perfect union between you and the Venezuelan soldiers, will form an invincible army, which will expel, for ever, the oppressors from a country which they have stained with so many crimes.

Brave brothers in arms! I take my leave of you, satisfied that you will conduct yourselves in battle equal to your brave compatriots in New Grenada; and the legislative body and the Government will always deem you and your generous nation as one of the first liberators of Venezuela.

(Signed) J. B. Arismendi.

The entry of Bolivar into Angostura, after his late glorious campaign in New Grenada, was one of the most gratifying and affecting spectacles witnessed since the days of Washington. He was hailed by the whole population, as the liberator and father of his country; the destroyer of oppression, and victor over tyranny.

On the 17th of December the fundamental law of the Republic was published, by which the Viceroyalty of New Grenada and the Captain-generalship of Venezuela were united into one State. As this document is of the utmost importance, our readers will no doubt be gratified by its insertion.

FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

The Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, to whose authority the towns and people of New Grenada, recently liberated by the arms of the Republic, have voluntarily agreed to subject themselves, considering,—

1. That the provinces of Venezuela and New Grenada, when united into one Republic, possess all the capabilities

and means of attaining the highest degree of power and prosperity:

2. That, constituted as separate Republics, however strong the bonds by which they might be united, instead of being able to improve so many advantages, it would be difficult for them to become consolidated, and cause their sovereignty to be respected:

3. That these truths, so strongly impressed on the minds of all men of superior talent and enlightened patriotism, have induced the Governments of the two Republics to agree to an union, which the vicissitudes of the war have hitherto prevented:

Wherefore, impelled by those considerations of necessity and reciprocal interest, and in conformity to the report of a special committee of the deputies of New Grenada and Venezuela, in the name and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, has decreed and decrees the following fundamental law of the Republic of Colombia:—

Art. 1. The Republics of Venezuela and New Grenada, from this day, are united in one single state, under the glorious title of Republic of Colombia.

2. The territory of said state shall be all that was comprehended in the ancient Captain-Generalship of Venezuela and the Viceroyalty of the New Kingdom of Grenada, embracing an extent of 115,000 square leagues, the exact limits of which shall be hereafter determined.

3. The debts which the two Republics may have contracted separately, are acknowledged *in solidum* by this law, as a national debt of Colombia, to the payment of which all the effects and property of the state shall be held bound, and the most productive branches of the public revenue be destined.

4. The executive power of the Republic shall be exercised by a President, and, in his absence, by a Vice-President, both named, *ad interim*, by the present Congress.

5. The Republic of Colombia shall be divided into three greater departments, viz. Venezuela, Quito, and Cundinamarca; which latter shall comprehend the provinces of New Grenada, which name shall henceforwards be suppressed.—

The capitals of these departments shall be the cities of Caracas, Quito, and Bogota, the addition of Santa Fé being taken away.

6. Each department shall have a superior administration and chief, for the present named by the existing Congress, with the title of Vice-President.

7. A new city, bearing the name of the Liberator, Bolivar, shall be the capital of the Republic of Colombia. Its plan and situation shall be determined by the first General Congress, on the principle of its being proportioned to the wants and conveniencies of the three departments, and to the grandeur nature has destined this opulent country to attain.

8. The General Congress of Colombia shall assemble on the first of January 1821, in the town of Rosario de Cúcuta, which in every respect is deemed the most convenient spot. Its convocation shall be made known by the President of the Republic, on the first of January 1820, with a communication of the regulations for the elections, which shall be formed by a special committee, and approved by the present Congress.

9. The constitution of the Republic of Colombia shall be formed by the General Congress, to whom shall be presented, in the light of a project, the one decreed by the present Congress, and which, together with the laws promulgated by the same, shall immediately be put into execution, by way of an essay.

10. The arms and flag of Colombia shall be decreed by the General Congress, and in the mean time the arms and flag of Venezuela shall be used, as being best known.

11. The present Congress shall enter on a recess on the 15th of January 1820, and the new elections for the General Congress of Colombia commence.

12. A committee of six Members and a President shall remain instead of the Congress, with such special attributes as shall be determined by decree.

13. The Republic of Colombia shall be solemnly proclaimed in the towns and armies with public feasts and rejoicings, the same taking place in this capital on the 25th instant (December), to celebrate the birth of the Saviour of

the world, under whose patronage this wished-for union has taken place, by which the state is regenerated.

14. The anniversary of this political regeneration shall be hereafter celebrated as a national feast, at which, as in those of Olympia, virtue and learning shall be rewarded.

The present fundamental law of the Republic of Colombia shall be solemnly promulgated in the towns and armies, inscribed on all the public registers, and deposited in all the archives of the municipalities and corporations, as well ecclesiastical as secular.

Given in the palace of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, in the city of St Thomas of Angostura, this 17th day of December 1819—9th of our independence.

The President of the Congress, Francisco A. Zea, Juan Herman Roscio, Manuel Cedeno, Juan Martinez, Jose España, Luis Tomaso Perasa, A. M. Briceno, Eusebio Asanados, Francisco Conde, D. B. Urbaneja, J. V. Cardoso, J. Munoz, O. Basalo, D. Alzuro, J. T. Machado, R. G. Cadiz, Secretary Diego de Vallenilla.

Palace of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, Angostura, Dec. 17. 1819.

The Sovereign Congress decrees, that the present fundamental law of the Republic of Colombia, shall be communicated to the supreme executive power, by means of a deputation, for its publication and observance.

FRANCISCO A. ZEA, President.
DIEGO DE VALLENILLA, Sec.

Palace of Government, Angostura, Dec. 17. 1819.

Let the above be printed, published, and executed, and let the seal of state be affixed to the same.

(Signed) SIMON BOLIVAR,
President of the Republic.
Minister of the interior and of justice,
DIEGO B. URBANEJA.

The incorporation of the two states is a measure of the utmost importance to the interests of

both; and it is truly gratifying to perceive with what anxiety the Head of the Government dwells on the subject of those debts which have been contracted for carrying on the war of independence. It appears, that the debts contracted by each state respectively, in obtaining supplies, have been acknowledged and funded into one debt, and the plan of liquidation formed. This, no doubt, will afford great consolation to those persons in this country, who, under trying circumstances, trusted to the faith and honour of the Venezuelan Republic, and its enterprising chief, by whom, it appears, their services will never be forgotten.

A few days after this, the following proclamation was addressed to the Irish legion:—

TO THE IRISH LEGION.

SIMON BOLIVAR, President of the State, Captain-General, &c. &c.

IRISHMEN!—Having left your own country in order to follow the generous sentiments which have always distinguished you among the illustrious of Europe, I have the glory now to number you among the adopted children of Venezuela, and to esteem you as the defenders of the liberty of Colombia.

Irishmen!—Your sacrifices exceed all praise, and scarcely has Venezuela sufficient means to reward you according to your merits; but whatever Venezuela possesses, and can dispose of, shall with pleasure be consecrated to the use of distinguished foreigners, who come to offer their lives and services as a tribute to our infant Republic. The promises

which the virtuous and brave General D'Evereux has made you, as the ground-work of your incorporation with the liberating army, shall be religiously fulfilled on the part of the Government and people of Venezuela. Be assured, that we will rather prefer the privation of all our property, than divest you of any of your most sacred rights.

Irishmen!—Your most just and sublime recompense is prepared for you in the page of history, and in the benedictions of the New World.

Palace of Government, Angostura, 14th December 1819.

(Signed) Bolivar.

The rapidity with which the Colombian chief moves is astonishing. After regulating various concerns of the state at the seat of Government, and, among others, addressing this paper to the Irish legion, he left Angostura on the 24th, in order to finish the grand work of emancipating Colombia, carrying with him arms, ammunition, &c. for the 6000 men in Pamplona, and the 4000 of Paez's division in Varinas and Guanare. The royalist chief, La Torre, who had 2000 men in Cúcuta, now retired to Merida. The army of the east, under the command of Arismendi and Bermudez, marched towards Calabozo, where they might effect a junction with Bolivar and Paez. Soublette's division had previously joined Paez in November. The intention of the patriots was to concentrate their forces, and march against Morillo, who had joined Morales, and by one decisive action insure the independence of the provinces which still acknowledged the dominion of Spain.

On the 20th of January the energetic manifesto here subjoined was addressed to the people of Colombia, by Don F. A. Zea, President of the Congress, and Vice-President of the Republic of Colombia.

MANIFESTO.

Francisco Antonio Zea, President of Congress, Vice-President of the Republic of Colombia, &c.

People of Colombia,—A grand political act, hitherto solicited in vain by men of superior talents, capable of estimating the glory and power to which you must be elevated, when united under a representative and energetic Government;—this act divine, decreed from eternity in your favour, has at last, under the paternal auspices of the Almighty, been realized amidst the ancient forests and solitudes of the Orinoco. His hand is to be seen throughout this work. It is in the bosom of nature herself that the Republic of Colombia has been formed; and the seal of creation is stamped upon the august law that gave it existence.

Inhabitants of Venezuela, who under the poniard of a Boves have been made undaunted patriots!

Inhabitants of Cundinamarca, who in the atrocious school of Morillo have learned to be freemen!

Inhabitants of Quito, whom Ruiz de Castillo, that frightful precursor of the sanguinary and perfidious Morillo, so violently impelled onward to independence!

All you, people of Colombia, all have finally acknowledged the necessity of consolidating yourselves into one enormous body, whose weight alone will discomfit and humble your oppressors. This work, so deservedly merited by you, is already finished; your political concentration is verified, and the fundamental law confirming it, and which, through me, Congress offers for your supreme sanction, will fulfil all your desires, will promote the interests of all, will cement upon an immense and lasting basis your independence, will establish

that of all South America, and make you a power both strong and solid, which, in the very act of declaring, will occasion you to be respected. Not only your political elevation and existence in a national body, but the vanity itself of individuals, feels an interest in this union. It is an honour to belong to a great and powerful people, whose very name inspires lofty ideas and a sentiment of veneration. "I am an Englishman!" is uttered with ostentation in every land; and one day it may be said with pride, "I am a Colombian!" if you all firmly cleave to the principles of unity and integrity set forth in this law, sanctioned by experience and reason. It certainly would be a proof of short-sightedness, and display no knowledge whatsoever of the march of nations, for you to wish to be divided into small and feeble republics, incapable of keeping pace with the political career of the world; a people, who, if but closely united, will form a vigorous and opulent commonwealth, whose glory and grandeur will redound to the happiness of the whole.

None of your three great departments separately, Quito, Venezuela, and Cundinamarca—not one, I call Heaven to witness; no, not one of them, however vast and rich be its territory, can become in a whole century a durable and respectable power. But if united, great God! neither the empire of the Medes nor Assyrians, of Augustus nor Alexander, could ever be compared with that Colossal Republic, which, with one foot upon the Atlantic, and the other upon the Pacific, shall behold Europe and Asia multiplying the productions of genius and the arts, and cover with their ships either sea, to exchange them for the metals and precious stones of your mines, and the still more precious fruits of your prolific vales and woods. Most assuredly there cannot be any geographical situation better suited than your own for the commerce of every country.

Colombia occupies the centre of the New Continent, with extensive and numerous ports in both oceans, surrounded on one side by the Antilles, and on the other, equally distant between the two, by Chili and Mexico; and every part of it intersected by deep rivers, which descend in all directions

from the Andes, at times dividing them, and at others blended one with the other: these will at some future day extend your internal navigation from the opposite coasts to the centre of the Republic, and even to the New States in the south—from Guyana to Peru, from Quito and Cundinamarca to the Brazils, and perhaps to Paraguay; and who knows if not to Buenos Ayres itself. Surely if in a country, for the most part unknown as yet by its own inhabitants, there have been found so many and so extensive communications, here more or less expedite, and there more or less obstructed, how many more will there not be discovered by the genius of liberty? It is wonderful to learn those found out by the illustrious Caldas in his geological and botanical excursions; that laborious and unpretending sage, whom Morillo sacrificed through his stupid frenzy to extinguish in your blood all the illustration and virtue of Colombia, which he considers to be his enemies. Unfortunate naturalist! the sciences raised you a monument, and the barbarian erected for you a scaffold!

But what importance, what value, will not the possession of that precious isthmus, destined by nature to become the grand mart of the universe, give to so many advantages? This is the point of political attraction, where all her relations, and all her interests, will be concentrated to consolidate the Republic; and what will it become when commerce, that magnificent founder of Tyre and Carthage, shall there construct her populous cities, to which the world will resort whenever the communication between both seas shall be once opened and practicable? Honour to the memory of the magnanimous Corral, who so much facilitated this undertaking—to that of Caldas, who formed the plan—to that of Uribe, who had, after the necessary surveys and levellings were made, already drafted a hydrographical chart, to put it into execution—when the Inquisition and Morillo, with his new Pandora's box, reached our coasts, disseminating amongst you fanaticism, cruelty, barbarity, in fact, all the horrors of despotism, and evincing a profound abhorrence for every great and liberal idea.

Such are the geographical benefits you will derive from the intimate union established by the law, which you so happily are about to sanction. May Heaven, in the display of its beneficence, make you all highly sensible of its importance, and for ever convince you, that the least digression from it will not only deprive you of that unlimited prosperity, power, and glory, with which you are blessed by nature, but will also most positively compromise your political existence. What do I say? compromise your political existence! Let the first one who should conceive the diabolical idea of separating, I do not say a department or a province, but even a town from your territory—let him perish, as unworthy the name of a Colombian, who should refuse to vindicate with his sword and his heart the integrity and unity of the Republic you have founded.

Promulgate solemnly, Sons of Colombia! these principles; acknowledge them as the political creed that must save you; ever adhere to them, and you may confidently rank yourselves amongst the most distinguished and powerful people on the globe. What hinders you from becoming so, if you do but will it? Your situation is truly commercial, and your country encompasses whatsoever there is the most useful and precious, rich and magnificent, in nature. What a variety of climes, extending sometimes over vast, and sometimes over narrow tracts, imperceptibly graduated with the heat of Senegal to that of the sub-polar ice; and throughout that infinite variety of temperatures, what an infinite diversity and singularity of productions! Balsams, spices, resins, gums, scented oils, dyes the most beautiful and brilliant, fruits the most profitable and estimable; whatever mortal can wish for his luxury, pleasure, and entertainment, for the healing or alleviation of his infirmities—all abound in our woods, all are the products of our fields; and finally, every thing that vegetates on the globe can, whenever we wish, be adapted to our territory. What shall I say of the mines, of the precious stones, and all the metals, except that, from the abundance and richness of their gold mines, they are induced to abandon those of silver, which rival any in Peru. I will not mention the minerals which,

throughout the whole continent, exclusively belong to us—such as platina, rubies, emeralds, besides nacar, (shell or mother of pearl), pearls, and other tributaries which our seas supply us with; yet I cannot but admire the prodigious multiplicity of all the cattle of the Old World, and lament our neglect to tame those foreign to the New, from which we certainly might derive great gain.

The animal kingdom is not less rich nor less splendid in Colombia than the other two. Behold that immense family of birds, covered with such multiform plumage, from the gigantic condor, that feasts itself upon a bullock or a horse, to the humming-bird, all brilliant in gold and emeralds, sucking nectar from flowers. What shall I say of the quadrupeds and amphibious tribe, whose skins, not less variegated or less beautiful, will be held in the highest estimation, whenever commerce shall bring to light such a multitude of animal productions, which, by a monopoly injurious and jealous as the dog in the garden of Hesperides, you were not permitted to touch. Her insects alone, to treat upon what appears to be most contemptible, will yield to the arts and industry, under the active empire of liberty, a harvest valuable and beautiful as the cochineal.

Nature has not contented herself with pouring upon us her most exquisite and choicest gifts, and establishing throughout our fields and gardens the perpetual reign of spring and flowers, but has been so propitious as to invest us with all her power and magnificence. Mountains that overlook the universe; rivers that represent seas; spacious and pleasant valleys, now towering above the region of the clouds, and again descending into deep abysses; cascades, whence great bodies of water precipitate themselves over huge rocks; mighty torrents, whose rapid and noisy current reanimates and gladdens her plains and forests;—the entire aspect of Colombia is lively and picturesque, majestic and grand. Its very name has acquired so much lustre, as not to admit of being pronounced but with a sentiment of gratitude and a feeling of peculiar merit and glory. But, alas! from what fatality, what cruel destiny is it, that this country, the first in the physical world,

not only is not the first, but does not even so much as exist in the political world? It is because you have not willed it: —will it, and it is done. Say, "Be it Colombia, and Colombia it shall be." Your unanimous will, publicly proclaimed, and firmly decided to support the work of your creation; yes, nothing is wanting but our will, in such a vast and wealthy country, to form a powerful and colossal state, and insure to us its eternal duration, and a progressive and rapid prosperity. Hasten then, O inhabitants of Colombia, to declare your sovereign will! Proclaim with enthusiasm the law of concentration and unity which Congress has proposed to you; and fly to swear upon the altars of your country, your bold determination to see her triumph, or with her perish. Your voice has given existence to Colombia, let your arm then preserve her. To give your sanction to the law, which has been passed in the most authentic and solemn manner, and with one accord, and affirmed by an unanimity of principle and sentiment, is the only step to be taken by you to be admitted into the political world.

In reality, nations exist and are acknowledged, let us say from their magnitude, giving to understand by this the conjunction of territory, population, and resources. The only two requisites or conditions that can be demanded from a young people, to be admitted into the grand society of nations, are, a manifest inclination, and a bulk of considerable magnitude. The delirium for provincial sovereignties, which, under a federative system, are entirely incompatible with the present state of our civilization and public morals, has prevented you from being recognized in either the one or other of these requisites; but both of them become renovated with incalculable advantages, by virtue of the law which Congress in its wisdom has decreed, thereby fulfilling the wishes which you have invariably manifested since the entrance of the liberating armies.

A mass of more than three millions and a half of men; a territory of more than a hundred thousand square leagues; a position eminently commercial; immense possessions in gold and silver mines; in fruits the most estimable, and natu-

ral productions the most precious. Here then you have a state of an immense magnitude, which requires nothing else but to step forward and be acknowledged. Your unanimity and firm resolution will give it at once existence and durability. Three millions and a half of people, perfectly united and decided, above all in this continent, and still more especially situated like you, cannot and ought not to receive laws from others. It would be the height of degradation and madness, that, capable of being a power respectable and strong, you should prefer, from apathy, to be a miserable colony—and that, a colony of Spain!

Elevated to the dignity of a nation, all your thoughts and attention ought to be employed in proving yourselves worthy of the society of mankind, by a solemn avowal of consideration and respect for all governments, institutions, and even the caprice of other people. It is already time that those theories and disorderly principles of the world, which at the close of the last century were put in circulation to disclose many great and useful truths, should be abolished. In our epoch it is admissible to be free as an Englishman; but not so much so as an Athenian, much less so than a Roman, and much less still than a Lacedemonian. Let us live in conformity with our own age, and coexist with our cotemporaries. Make a due estimate of these ideas, Sons of Colombia, that you may give to the state a feasible constitution, as well as a just, beneficent, and liberal government. A people ought never to be governed, to the neglect of mankind, by theories of perfection, which should not be consistent with the order of nature and society.

Observe then how important it is to elect for the approaching constituent Congress, men distinguished for their information, judgment, virtues, and patriotism. Be influenced by no other considerations in an election on which your fate depends. The General Congress will decide the destinies of Colombia by a constitution, whereby your rights and immunities will be blended, so far as possible, with the rights and immunities of others. Every constitution ought to be framed, if I may so express myself, with due regard for all man-

kind; and although its principal object be the felicity of the people for whom it is made, the general welfare of the world ought not, upon that account, to be less attended to. A sentiment of universal philanthropy must supplant in our hearts, that terror which the Spanish Government inspired us with for the very name of a stranger, which, according to their doctrine, is reckoned as an enemy both to God and ourselves. We were doomed to know nobody but Spaniards.

The Congress of Venezuela, listening to your calls, and ever anxious to contribute towards the happy consummation of your fate, has deemed it expedient to enact for you the fundamental law of the state, which is this day presented for your approbation, and is, in every respect, consonant with your wishes. Having adopted this grand measure, which was the only one to be done, and at the same time so much required, it immediately resolved to adjourn, previously exhorting you to appoint in its place a national representation, and suggesting to you the best means of effecting it, instead of popular elections or by a census, which, under existing circumstances, is absolutely impracticable. Your success in this particular, so essential to the prosperity of Colombia, has been the object of their attention and parental cares, and I have done nothing but express to you their vows and sentiments. Learn to reciprocate so pure and noble a zeal, by electing representatives worthy of your Republic, that bears a name so celebrated and heroic.

People of Colombia! A perspective, brilliant in glory and prosperity, has been opened to you since entering upon the boundless career you have undertaken. Continue onward, and you will progressively behold the grand sphere of your power dilating itself. Every step in advance will unfold to you new blessings in that new world; but, O sad fate! if you should take one step backward, in what an abyss of evils, the very idea of which strikes the imagination with horror, you will plunge yourselves and all your posterity! By so doing, you will not so much as attain to that state of indolence and social nullity, which only despots and knaves have called tranquillity. The yoke of despotism falls with new weight and vio-

lence, if it be not hurled from the neck. If you have not felt the whole force of its descent during the vicissitudes of war, it is because there were brave men to ward it off. But if you ceased to make any resistance—God of mercy! what would have been your fate! There would not now have been found a single person throughout Colombia who would know how to read—not one that would have had a comfortable mode of subsistence—not one that would have been distinguished for merit or virtue. Our beneficent and sagacious curates and lawyers, abused and proscribed, would have been removed to give place to those whom Morillo, when at Ocaña, had there so pressingly and shamefully solicited from Spain. Doubt not but that the clouds of ignorance, chains of opprobrium, of the most infamous servitude, will be your eternal portion, if you should not now bring this your undertaking to a glorious termination. Already there is no salvation for you but absolute independence and liberty.

I congratulate you, inhabitants of Colombia, that Providence should have placed you in the happy necessity of elevating yourselves to the high rank which he has destined you. Bless his beneficence and wisdom, confide in his protection, and put into action at once all your means and resources, to conclude speedily this war of desolation, and secure for ever your happiness. Trifling sacrifices, and dilatory and feeble efforts, continued for a long and an indefinite period, will necessarily go on impoverishing the state, without producing a prompt and decisive effect. But accomplish in one day what is to be done in a whole year—make a general and simultaneous movement—let every one contribute the most he can to his country—let the population rise up in a body, and rush upon the enemy like an impetuous torrent, which overturns and sweeps every thing before it;—Our liberty will then become the work of a single campaign, attended with less expenses, less losses, less hardships, and with more certain and glorious consequences.

Let us make then an extraordinary and general effort to expel at once the Spaniards from our territory, opening at the same time our arms to our misguided brethren, let the services

rendered by them to tyranny through misfortune have been whatsoever they might. Whenever Spain shall acknowledge the impotency to which she is actually reduced, that shall be the last day of war, and the first of aggrandizement and prosperity. On that day Colombia will receive new energy, and an industrious and commercial world will have access to an opulent empire. Our ports will be opened to all nations—our territory, barred for more than three centuries against every people, will admit all men as friends or citizens, tradesmen or proprietors. Numerous colonists will come to cultivate our fertile plains, to extract the native products of our mountains, or explore the metals and precious stones of such an infinity of mines, abandoned for the want of hands and enterprising capitalists. Of what consequence is it to the state, whether an owner of a vast plantation, a large farm, or a rich mine, be a citizen of Paris or London, of Vienna or Petersburg? What will be of consequence to you is, good husbandry, disinterested services, skilful researches, and the multiplication of every species of produce; the active bustle of agriculture and of the mines will be of importance to you; of commerce and industry, talent and learning, applied to nature, which in a country so new and so highly favoured of Heaven, will daily present new wealth to the nation, and growing prosperity to mankind.

Daughters of Colombia! May your hands, like those of Aurora, which compels Night to withdraw her mantle of darkness, and unfold with her rosy fingers the portals of the Orient to the rising sun; may your hands be those that shall scatter a handful of Spaniards, and open the avenue for the star of liberty. Yes, fair Colombians! you will transmit to posterity this noble and memorable example. The immortal Salabarrieta shall not be our only heroine; a thousand others shall rise up! and who can calculate what shall be the enthusiastic efforts they may inspire? All of you will rival each other in glory and heroic patriotism. And who is there, on beholding you sacrifice your jewels upon the altars of your country with one hand, and, with the other, arm your sons against the Spaniards, that would not make the same sacrifices, and like-

wise fly to combat? Give this grand impulse, forward this universal movement—and with you shall commence the history of Colombia, and her first and most luminous page shall be consecrated to immortalize your names.

Given at the Palace of the Sovereign Congress, in Angostura, the 13th of January 1820, and 10th of our Independence.

(Signed) FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA.
DIEGO DE VALLENILLA, Secretary.

Viva la Republica de Colombia!

In the early part of this year, Ferdinand published a proclamation to his South American subjects, which is curious, as the last effort of the Spaniards to recover their lost authority, and encouraging to the Colombians, as an evidence of their weakness, in attempting to replace the yoke upon their necks by dint of vain promises and empty threats. The late changes which had taken place in Spain gave rise to this document, and the prospect of their enjoying the same constitution as the people of the Peninsula, induced the court of Madrid to believe, that the inhabitants of Colombia would submit themselves to that Cortes by whom the atrocities of Monteverde, Ruiz de Castilla, and Salomon, had not only been permitted, but encouraged. We have inserted it, that our readers may form their own opinion upon it.

The KING to his SUBJECTS beyond the Seas.

SPANISH AMERICANS,—When, in the year 1814, my arrival in the capital of imperial Spain was announced, fatality

induced the restoration of certain institutions, which long and confirmed habits had caused us to regard as superior to others, which, being more ancient, were irreconcilable to existing prejudices, and could not be modified in any distinct forms. The unhappy experience of six years, and the disgraceful evils which went on accumulating by those means which were deemed likely to produce universal happiness—the general complaints of the people in both hemispheres, and their energetic demonstrations, convinced me of the necessity of returning back to that line from which we had incautiously deviated: and seeing that the general wish of the nation, impelled by that principle which had distinguished and elevated it on the great stage of the world to that height which it should hold among other nations, induced me to adopt those sentiments, identifying myself most sincerely and cordially with them, and caused me to adopt, recognize, and swear to, according to a spontaneous proposition, the constitution formed in Cadiz by the General and Extraordinary Cortes, and proclaimed in that city in March 1812. Nothing can possibly exceed my satisfaction at the universal rejoicing which took place; and the real heroic generosity of the people, who are susceptible of errors but not of crime, will quickly obliterate the recollection of past evils. The Spaniards at this day present a spectacle for admiration to all Europe, solemnly pledging themselves to their constitutional system, which justly estimates the reciprocal duties between the nation and the throne. A state so securely poised, and founded on the most durable basis, on which are bottomed alike true liberty and public credit, promising that the new institutions shall find their best security in favourable and permanent results, combining the improved state of science with the dictates of sound policy, and establishing the military and naval strength of the nation on principles which will render it the most effectually applicable as circumstances shall require, and bidding fair to restore, in all things, that respect and consideration which we have lost.

A new flood of light is shed across both Spanish hemispheres, and nothing can exceed the refulgent brightness which already illumines, or the ardour which is felt from the sacred

fire of patriotism. I congratulate myself, as the first to feel this sweet and generous emotion; I also exult in having to announce it; and I exhort you to haste to enjoy such immense benefits, by accepting and swearing to a constitution which is framed for the felicity of you and yours. I affirm to you, I sacrifice nothing when I feel that, by confirming this fundamental law, I shall secure your happiness; and though it might be productive of evil to me, I should equally have acquiesced, persuaded that the honour of Majesty should weigh as nothing when placed in competition with the public good.

Americans!—You have greatly deviated from the line of your true interest—you feel by this time what your misconduct has cost you—those immense fatigues, those perils without end, sanguinary wars, frightful devastations, and the extremities of all evils. Nothing has resulted to you but tears and griefs, turbulence and heart-burnings, cruel imprisonments, starvation, destructions by fire, devastation, and unheard-of horrors—results which will but entail disgrace upon you to future generations. What can you hope from such? Hear the soothing voice of your King and father. Expel that disquietude and restless distrust which agitate you, and replace those in your bosom by affectionate and generous sentiments. No longer regard vengeance as a virtue, nor odious animosity as an obligation. The two hemispheres have nothing inherent in them to prohibit lasting and reciprocal friendships; nor is it in nature that you, who are true brothers, can be enemies. You speak but the same language—you profess but the same religion—you are governed by the same laws—adhere to the same customs—and, above all, you are adorned by the same virtues—virtues the true offspring of valour, of generosity, and the supreme elevation of great souls. Renew with the mother-country those relations, which, for three centuries, your progenitors, the favoured children of victory, have laboured to establish. Renew also those reciprocal relations which the new lights of the day, and the system of a representative government require. Throw aside your arms, and cease that destructive warfare which has occasioned so many terrible evils, which must be recorded in history in

letters of blood. With arms so wielded, the lives of kindred individuals of the same families must be sacrificed—sacrifices which must involve self-desperation and self-abhorrence! The universal nation is actuated by my wishes, and will enable me by all its means to triumph without violence over those obstacles which but prolong a state of public calamity. We have adopted a system more ample in its principles, and conformable to those which you yourselves have wished for. Our distinctive character directs the reciprocal observance of a frank and loyal conduct, opposed to that of a mistaken and too cunning policy, which, by its false and intricate combinations, can but seldom hope for favourable results. The mother-country gives you the example; follow it, Americans, it will but ensure your present and future felicity: give to the mother-country a ground of hope, that in an age so pregnant with great and extraordinary events, the love of order and the general good accords with all your wills, and results from your uniform opinions.

The Cortes, whose name alone is a favourable pledge of important benefits and successes for all Spaniards, is about to assemble. Your brothers of the Peninsula anxiously hope, with extended arms, for the accomplishment of their wishes, in your hasting to fraternize, to unite in conference with them as equal subjects, on those remedies which the necessities of the country require, and of your own particularly; the security of your persons is guaranteed by the laws of national honour, and which sacred code the country has sworn, in the face of the universe, religiously to observe. Reunite, therefore, with the fathers of the country, conciliate wise predilections of the people, contribute to the safety of the state, fix for ever the happy destinies of the two worlds, and entitle yourselves, above all, to that immortal crown which is conferred by the blessings of a grateful posterity! What benefits, what felicity, will not this much desired union produce? Commerce, agriculture, industry, science, and art, will flourish with unprecedented brilliancy in this happy country, and universal undisturbed tranquillity, the precious offspring of mutual concord. Justice and policy alike prescribe this conduct; and a con-

stitutional government, common to all, in which nothing unjust or arbitrary can exist, will elevate us to the highest pitch of prosperity to which man is capable of attaining. But if those salutary counsels, given from the recesses of my heart, and if that true and friendly hand which your dear country holds out to you—this country which has produced so many of your fathers, and which has the authority to prescribe—be not attended to, you will have to fear all those evils which the fury of a civil war produce—all those evils which accrue to a state, destitute of its natural and legitimate government, and which result from the insidious seductions of ambitious men, who promote the horrors of anarchy, with a view of wresting into their hands the sceptre of government; those unprincipled despoilers, unknown adventurers—those foreign intruders, who seek earnestly for occasions to sow the germs of discord and confusion; who endeavour but to divide, and divide but to dominate; in fine, all the horrors and convulsions which states suffer in the most violent crisis, produced by the effervescence of conflicting political principles and passions, will await you! And then you will feel all these terrible effects to be expected from national indignation, and a justly offended government; a government most strong and powerful when supported by the people, and directed according to the principles which actuate them. Oh! may such a moment of inconsiderate obstinacy never arrive! Never—for the poignant grief which it must create, could but for a short interval be borne by your tender and indulgent father.

FERDINAND.

Upon the rumour of this proposal, the following article made its appearance in the Correo del Orinoco of the 17th June, which was supposed at the time to be the official declaration of the sentiments of the Patriot Government at Angostura on the political changes in Spain, and on the offer of a cessation from hostilities, to which they were expected to give rise, from Morillo:—

There is a rumour in town, of the arrival at Barbadoes of some Spanish officers, on their route to Caracas, with propositions for an amnesty to the President of Colombia, until the Cortes shall assemble and determine the question of war or peace with South America. This rumour, which may be so agreeable to those who are adverse to the further expenditure of human blood, wants confirmation.

In all the documents which we have seen issued by the provisional junta of Spain, we have discovered nothing about South America, except the re-establishment of the old department for the administration of affairs of the dominions beyond the sea. It may be that by this channel those proposals of amnesty rumoured, are to be tendered to the people of South America who have thrown off the yoke of Spain. If the provisional junta at Madrid should be actuated by the same generous feelings as the chiefs who have liberated the Peninsula, nothing could be more proper than to put a stop to that effusion of blood, which had been the delight of Ferdinand and his satellites in Venezuela.

Morillo, who was the prime instrument of massacre and desolation, has been continued in that station in which he had wrought so much massacre and cruelty, although he was well apprised of the generous sentiments and moderation of those chiefs, made known every-where by the publication of their magnanimous views. Morillo, who cannot exist but amidst the slaughter of mankind, and the ruins he has made, has compelled the people of the Republic of Colombia to continue hostilities by sea and by land. We had been before acquainted, that the instructions given by Morillo to the little naval squadron which departed from Cumana in April, were to kill, burn, and destroy every thing which fell in their way, without reservation or distinction; and those orders were signed by this atrocious monster when he was fully apprised of the full and effective progress of the insurrection in favour of the constitution in Spain; of the oath taken by Ferdinand to maintain and obey that constitution; of the establishment of the provisional junta; of the liberation of those patriots and sages of Spain who had been consigned to dungeons, and fortresses,

and the Inquisition, on account of their political opinions; of the abolition of the tribunal of the Inquisition; and the re-establishment of the freedom of the press.

It were to be wished that hostilities had ceased at the moment that the proclamation of Quiroga and Acevedo was received at Caracas. But Morillo pursuing his sanguinary system, the necessity was imposed on us of defending ourselves, and pursuing to justice a remorseless and perfidious enemy.

It is not possible to ascertain at present what may be the nature of the proposals for an amnesty received by way of Barbadoes at La Guayra, if any such have been there received; neither can it be possibly determined whether such proposals will be rejected, nor whether they will be accepted, in case of their being such as may be receivable. What precautions would not be necessary to prevent any accidents that might be dependent on the character and conduct of agents removed at a great distance from their principals! Supposing that the provisional junta was more worthy of trust than Ferdinand, and that Morillo himself was not less entitled to confidence in his honour, or humanity, or faith, than the junta, still great evils might arise out of circumstances not always to be foreseen, but against which it would be the extreme of folly not to be prepared. These considerations must be imperative on all those to whom overtures may be made, when it is considered that the superior authority of the adverse party who make the overtures is at two thousand leagues' distance: this is an inconvenience inseparable from the laws and constitutions which are to operate at so great a distance.

Amend and improve the constitution of 1812 as much as its general character will admit, these countries, so far removed from the seat of its operation, can never alike participate in those ameliorations; one of them never can, like Spain, derive advantage from a faithful observance even of its fundamental principles. This constitution was communicated to South America in the year of its publication, and to Peru, Mexico, and Venezuela; but it was made a mere machine for oppression in the hands of Callejas, Monteverde, and Abascal.

Not a single evil exercised by these satraps of despotism was remedied under its establishment; and the people of Peru, Mexico, and Venezuela, remained as much oppressed as they had been at any prior period, under the pretended shade of this potent constitution; thus compelling those who were not to be deceived, or determined not to be any longer oppressed, to seek a remedy in a more vigorous effort for emancipation.

The first regency of Spain invited the South Americans to send deputies to the Cortes, and, in the convocation, pointed out the evils under which the countries had so long laboured, and which had until that time subjected them. By the regency, South America was theoretically released from the chains of colonial subjection; and it was confessed, that the distance of these countries from the seat of government, rendered them always liable to such wrongs. These were the avowed sentiments of the regency of that period.

However excellent a constitution may be, it cannot overcome the evils inseparable from distance; and if the root of those evils exists, the evils themselves must grow out of it. The regency had then said, which they might say with truth, that the South Americans were treated with indifference where they were not injured by avarice, or bowed down by ignorance in power; but they continued to be oppressed as before during that regency, without any sort of mitigation or amelioration. The original source of the evil remains then so long as the distance which separates them from the centre of government continues; and no measure of a political nature, however important, can overcome insurmountable difficulty.

From circumstances like these, the celebrated author of the Spirit of Laws concludes, that no other kind of government but the despotic can long preserve countries removed at a great distance from the centre of dependence. It may be asked by the reader, what is the object of these observations, and what have they to do with the rumoured amnesty? It is not here proposed to enter into any analysis of the rumoured proposal for a peace, which may, after all, terminate in a war renewed with more ardour; the attention of this article is directed towards the Cortes assembled at Madrid, or at any

other place in the Peninsula. It may be conceived, that a majority of the Cortes may be very busily occupied in devising means to accommodate the constitution to the situation of South America, and it may even be anticipated that an offer of an equal representation for South America may form a part of their remedies for the existing evils; and, in short, that all the defects of the constitution of 1812, in relation to South America, may be attempted to be rectified or amended, in such a way as they may consider as what the people of South America should accept, as the alternative of a recurrence to arms and a further prosecution of the war.

Those ideas are merely hypothetical. It will not be asserted positively, that such will be the result of the deliberations of the Cortes in relation to South America. If the members of the Cortes, or a majority of them, were Quirogas or Acevedos, there would be nothing to apprehend; the conclusion of this sanguinary war would then be certain, and it would be succeeded by a definitive treaty of peace, of which the fundamental basis would be the absolute independence of all South America.

But as this certainty will not be the case, it is proposed to offer an unanswerable replication to the rumoured project, which will be, that the central supreme power devised by the constitution, shall be established in South America; that the national legislative body shall be assembled at Panama, or any other position that may be selected in South America, where the executive power also shall reside; and that Spain shall be dependent on the authority of their common government. Such is the outline of the counter project. With these conditions, it may be safely presumed, in anticipation, that the people of South America would swear to the constitution.

A proof of this truth shall be presented in the acknowledgments of one of the greatest opponents of South American independence. We allude to the last paragraph in an article contained in the Madrid Gazette* of 8th July 1816.

* The following is a translation of the paragraph from the Madrid Gazette alluded to:—

Every liberal man in Spain is satisfied of the force of that eloquent production: none of them will like to depend on a government existing in the Isthmus of Darien, at Quito, and at Bogota. All will at once cast their eyes upon the example of Portugal, and the insignificance into which it has fallen, since the seat of government was transferred to Brazil; and they will point out, too, the failure of the attempt made by the noble European Portuguese in 1817, to become independent of the court of Rio Janeiro, with the only view to prevent the evils experienced by the distance of Portugal from the central government. Let the Spaniards be just towards the South Americans, who, after 300 years of injustice and privations, claim their rights with the sole view to become independent and free, and as the constitutional Spaniards propose to be themselves. The best blood and the finest genius have been already sacrificed by the South Americans, to obtain that liberty and emancipation; and the realization of those rights will be no more than a just compensation for such sacrifices. To secure those rights, if no other means remain, they are prepared and resolved on renewed sacrifices. The conflict in that event will become still justified on the part of the South Americans, because they would then have to produce the recent example of the Spanish people, who had exercised *only* the same right of an ordinary insurrection against arbitrary power, by resisting the despot who oppressed them. Then the firmness and constancy of the South American patriots

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" The epoch is not far distant, when a wise policy will instruct the politicians of Europe, that the dependence of South America is not an advantage peculiar to Spain alone, but that it enters deeply into the general interests of Europe, whose ancient supremacy and preponderance over all other parts of the globe will be destroyed the moment that independence shall establish her temple in those regions, which nature has so bountifully and abundantly enriched. The activity of the spirit of industry and the arts, will precipitate them upon those more favoured countries; Europe will be abandoned; and that superiority which has hitherto justly given to Europe the claim to be the centre of civilization, will not only cease, but Europe may perhaps become the slave or the dependent subject of the New World."

will be crowned with complete triumph, and the defenders of a cause so just will obtain that immortal glory, which is due by mankind to those whose constancy is unshaken, and courage invincible, in a career so glorious.

The judiciary power in the Peninsula shall be exercised according to the forms presented by the law of the 9th October 1812, for South America; and America shall exercise its judicial power independent of any interference from Spain.

To propositions like these, it is probable the Spaniards may raise the very objections which the South Americans have already offered against the constitution; because, as they might say, the judiciary power would otherwise be exercised at a distance of 2000 leagues. The Spaniards cannot allege that they would have better motives in such a case than the South Americans have had for maintaining their rights by arms since 1819. Then, if so, why pretend that the Americans should submit themselves to the convenience of the Spaniards, who would themselves refuse to submit on the same terms to the South Americans? Where, then, is the strict observance of the natural rights of mankind, alike obligatory on Spain as on South America, according to our hypothesis? Do not unto others as you would not that others should do unto you. What, then, is to be done in such an alternative?

Suppose we place the central government at Bermuda, or in some other spot in the ocean equally distant from both countries; indeed, there is no other intermediate step which can obviate the absurdity of two countries, so distant, and so unequal in extent and population, being attempted to be governed upon terms of equality. As this is the only remedy by which this unity could be obtained, and it appears impracticable, the extensive territory of South America can never expect to reach that state of felicity which nature appears to have intended, by any other means than actual and unequivocal independence.

The patriots were not wrong in their conjectures. On the very day the above article was

published at Angostura, commissioners were dispatched to the Congress with a letter from Morillo, to propose a cessation of hostilities, until a reconciliation could be effected. To this was given an answer, showing the firm determination of the Colombians to maintain inviolable that independence which, after ten years' struggle, they were on the point of securing.

At the same time, letters were dispatched to the different generals, accompanied by Ferdinand's proclamation, inviting them to a conference and a suspension of hostilities. I have here subjoined the letter of Morillo to the Congress, and the answer of Peñalver, the President, as well as that to Mariano Montillo, a distinguished officer in the Colombian service, together with his reply.

General Morillo to the Sovereign Congress of Colombia.

Most Serene Sir,—Your Serene Highness being no doubt apprized of the events which have lately occurred in the Peninsula, and the triumph of the general wish of the nation to re-establish the constitution of the Spanish monarchy, as sanctioned at Cadiz in the year 1812, by the unanimous vote of the representatives of both hemispheres, and positive orders having been received by me from the constitutional King of both Spains to enter into a liberal and fair accommodation, which may reunite the whole family, so as to enjoy the benefits of our political regeneration, and put a termination to the fatal effects of the variance, originating in the desire of being relieved from that oppression, which has erroneously been thought to be peculiar to these regions, but which, in fact, has been universal throughout the whole empire: I hasten to inform

your Highness, that I have opened a communication with the military commander in chief of your Government, and his officers, and proposed a suspension of hostilities, until a reconciliation can be effected; for the accomplishment of which Brigadier Don Thomas de Cires, governor of the province of Cumana, and Don Joseph Domingo Duarte, intendant of the army, and superintendant-general of finance, are commissioned to treat with your Highness on an equitable, proper, and mutually advantageous basis. In the mean while, I have issued orders to my officers to carry the suspension of hostilities into immediate effect, and to remain in the positions they now occupy, unless attacked.

As a military chief, obedient to that subordination by which my career has ever been guided, I made war; and now, as a reconciliator, I cheerfully submit to the same subordination, and exhibit those principles of liberality, which the King and the nation have authorized me to act on, in order to restore peace and reconciliation to a people by nature Spanish, and which, by the concurrence of circumstances, is entitled to participate in the enjoyment of the reform effected in our political institutions.

Your Highness ought to lose sight, as I do this moment, of the horrors of war, and let us fix our views solely on the sweet and delightful hope of uniting sons to fathers, brothers to brothers, friends to friends, and Spaniards to Spaniards, whom a fatality had divided; and for so desirable an end, let us join in welcoming a conciliatory constitution, which we shall improve by mutual consent, as the judicious experience of things may dictate. It equalizes the national representation of each people: one does not depend on the other, and consequently all are free and independent. In its suffrages rests the authority of forming the laws which are to be obeyed, and those regulations of political economy for the improvement of agriculture, commerce, arts, and every species of industry, without those odious distinctions which the petty policy of past ages had adopted.

The commissioners will lay before your Highness the principles of reconciliation; and I am thoroughly persuaded that

affection and good-will will establish fraternity, even should your Highness, from the apprehension of what has passed in the epochs of fury and desperation, not agree at once to the proposals of the nation, which originate in the wish with which it is animated, of rendering its triumph general to all Spanish countries in the four quarters of the globe, where its ancient laws had reached, and where its new institutions will be more readily received.

What an agreeable metamorphosis for us all, when we can unite, and I be able to present myself without the apparatus of war, and merely as a peaceable Spanish citizen, joining in the general expressions of joy at the victory reciprocally gained over our passions. Until this is done, your Highness will never be able to graduate the difference from the general to the citizen, who has the constitutional honour of being your most Serene Highness's most obedient servant,

PABLO MORILLO.

Head-quarters, Caracas, June 17. 1820.

To the Most Serene Congress assembled in Guayana.

THE CONGRESS TO GENERAL MORILLO.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—The Sovereign Congress specially convened for the purpose of seeing the letter addressed to it by your Excellency from your head-quarters at Caracas, in date of the 17th June last, informing it that Brigadier Don Thomas de Cires, and Don Joseph Domingo Duarte, were commissioned to proceed to this capital, in order to solicit the union of these countries with the constitutional monarchy of Spain, and that those gentlemen would produce the principles of reconciliation proposed by the nation, deliberated on the 11th instant, at a public sitting, and in reply I transmit your Excellency the following decree: viz.—

The Sovereign Congress of Colombia, desirous of establishing peace, will hear with pleasure any proposal which may be made on the part of the Spanish Government, provided it has for its basis the acknowledgment of the sovereignty and indepen-

dence of Colombia, and will admit none that does not contain that principle, so often declared by the Government and people of this Republic.

The President of the Sovereign Congress has the honour of being your Excellency's most obedient servant.

The President of the Congress,
FERNANDO DE PENALVER.
FELIPE DEPIANO, Secretary.

New Guayana, July 13. 1820.

To his Excellency Don Pablo Morillo.

MORILLO TO MONTILLO.

PERHAPS the great and happy events of March in European Spain may not have yet reached the notice of your Lordship. His Majesty, always attentive to the good of his beloved people, has spontaneously divested himself of the power which his predecessors had enjoyed for three centuries, and sworn to the observance of the political constitution of the monarchy, which was sanctioned by the Cortes on the 18th of March 1820, and which was the universal will of the nation. Never did a king give such positive proofs of the rectitude and sincerity of his desires, nor make so heroic a sacrifice for the happiness of his subjects. The peninsula of Spain took that celebrated oath in an instant; and the provinces of American Spain have followed its example, in the midst of the acclamations of the people, causing, by their noble conduct, the horrors of intestine war to disappear, as ought in such circumstances to be expected.

The Gazettes which I send to your Lordship herewith, will prove to you these facts. The King, seated upon the august constitutional throne of the Spains, and amidst the many and weighty occupations which the change of a fundamental law carries with it, one of his first steps has been to turn his eyes towards those provinces of the monarchy which have been devastated by a war that has originated in the fatality of circumstances; either in an error of calculation, which has made more horrible the reaction of the parties, or in the lamentable

spirit of revenge, which have occasioned atrocities so much the more violent as the relationship of the parties has been more near. It has had no other result than the devastation of Venezuela, for principles, perhaps, wholly equivocal. The King, penetrated with sorrow, has seen the misfortunes of these portions of his great empire, and has thought that the happiness and satisfaction of his paternal heart would not be complete, unless it opened all its beneficence, and put in action all the means possible to terminate these evils. His first step has therefore been to address to these people the annexed proclamation, full of moderation and goodness, worthy of the gratitude of his subjects, and the admiration of strangers. His Majesty, in consequence, not putting narrow limits to his generous desires, has authorized me particularly to treat with the dissenting governors; to convene you, to learn your views and wishes; and when convened, to cause to disappear for ever even the memory of past events. In order therefore to fulfil the desires of the King, and satisfy my own wishes, I address myself under this date, and by commissioners fully authorized, to the authorities actually governing in the separated countries, in the manner most clear, satisfactory, and able in human prudence, to terminate the dissensions of brothers. But, as it is impossible to listen to or understand you with arms in hand, it is necessary to suspend them, and bring about with the suspension that state of calm which gives place to reason, and in which the heat of the passions cease.

For this purpose, and under this date, I give orders to the commandants of the various divisions of the army and naval forces under my command, to cause hostilities to cease on their part, remaining in the territory which they occupy, and that they should count upon this necessary suspension from the day on which your Lordship receives this until one month afterwards. But it not being equally possible that this indispensable measure may be communicated to the Government upon which you depend, with the necessary promptitude, I have thought it proper to address directly to you so interesting a communication. I expect that your Lordship will acknow-

ledge the frankness of my procedure, the sincerity of my intentions, and the goodness of the King, who is anxious for the reunion and happiness of the great family. God preserve, &c. PABLO MORILLO.

Head-quarters, Caracas, June 17. 1820.

MONTILLO TO MORILLO.

To His Excellency DON PABLO MORILLO.—After the immensity of the irreparable evils which the atrocious and desolating conduct of the Spanish generals who have conducted the war, has brought upon unfortunate America—after your Excellency has sown with mourning, and bathed with blood, every kingdom and province on which you have set your foot, sending their most illustrious sons to perish on the scaffold, and under the disgraceful knife of the executioner, and dissipating the most ample fortunes—after the most enormous contributions, exacted from a most miserable people, which have only for their object the most ignominious slavery, or the project of reducing them to a state of annihilation;—finally, after the most shameful imprisonments, the most degrading insults, and the most mortifying vexations, have been the rewards destined by your Excellency for honour, talents, and learning, the proposals for peace and reconciliation, to which you invite me in your dispatch of the 17th of June, came much too late. The American has already made known his wishes with that firmness which the continued experience of his fortune naturally inspires, and has sworn before the sacred manes of the victims so impiously sacrificed by your Excellency, to trust his future destinies to his own measures only, and from henceforth to depend upon nothing but them. Reflect a moment upon the plan of the operations you have executed in South America;—recall to your imagination the assassinations, confiscations, and violence of every kind, committed under the safeguard of the most ample amnesties, and with which you left your footsteps marked in Santa Fé, Venezuela, and other parts of your pas-

sage;—turn your eyes towards those horrid places, originally destined for the confinement of malefactors, but now the receptacle of the most illustrious men, respectable fathers of families, and useful members of the state,—and your Excellency will be convinced, that mere sudden change of language is not sufficient to repair the grievances and the losses we have experienced, nor to change our ideas and sentiments. This language would appear more sincere, and less suspicious, in any other mouth than that of your Excellency, who, speaking to your Sovereign, in your dispatches, of the political state of South America, and describing the character of its inhabitants, especially those of Venezuela, clearly pointed out the impossibility of again subjugating them, without cutting off two-thirds of the population, which, without doubt, form the chief object of your fears. Your Excellency has exceeded this with an exactness which leaves your employers no room for complaint, and which is in conformity with the general ideas of your nation. If a person of your Excellency's foresight, information, and political knowledge, had consulted the history of revolutions and their vicissitudes, he would have found that a true statesman is not an assassin, a robber, or an incendiary.

Your Excellency must not therefore be surprised, if, agreeably to the power with which I am invested, and the general wish of the people who acknowledge the government of the Republic, and independent of any resolutions to which the Supreme Government may come respecting the proposals for peace and reconciliation which your Excellency offers, I, on my own part, distinctly declare, that I will agree to no suspension of arms, nor enter into any sort of negociation, unless the preliminary step is the recognition of the independence of America, upon which indispensable basis every subsequent treaty must be founded. The inviolable observance of the rights of nations, and the sacred principles of humanity, in the further prosecution of the war, will be laws to which I shall most religiously subject myself, if they are equally attended to on the part of my adversary. If a contrary system is adopted, I shall do a violence to my own feelings, and inflict

a just retaliation. If, instead of our arms having been crowned on every side with victory and triumph, we had suffered reverses, and fortune had declared against us, you would always have heard from me the same language, being, as I am, not the slave of partial circumstances or fleeting accidents, open to the prime conviction; and the true interest of both the contending nations, of which the one employed in subjugating and tyrannizing, and the other in disengaging itself from the yoke, will perpetuate a war which will ultimately terminate in the extermination of one or both. Europe and the world will duly appreciate our reasons, our conduct, and the determination which will regulate our future conduct, whether for peace or war; and their impartiality will decide in the justice which should recommend the present events to posterity and the existing generation. God and Liberty.

MARIANO MONTILLO.

Baranquilla, July 28. 1820.

Various other letters between the different chiefs, of a similar import, both as to proposal and reply, follow this correspondence; but it is unnecessary to publish any more of them.

General Bolivar identified himself with the Congress in his answer to Morillo. Absolute independence was the only basis upon which he could treat. Paez answered, that he belonged to a Government, and that it was its province to treat with the Spanish Government. All the other generals in like manner referred Morillo to the Government. Thus his plan, " Divide et Impera," was disappointed. Never was the Government and people so united in any one point, as against all union with Spain, or dependence on her. Duarte, Cires, and Esenna, Morillo's com-

missioners, were at the Orinoco, but were not allowed to proceed beyond Guayana. Their answer was, that no commissioners could be received, who had not power to treat on the basis of the sovereignty and independence of Colombia as a *sine qua non.*

Early this year, Don F. A. Zea, the Vice-President of Colombia, was sent by the Government with all the money remaining in the treasury, which amounted to a considerable sum, to the West India Islands to purchase muskets. From thence he was to proceed to New York, and then to England, where he was to negociate and settle some important affairs relating to the Government.

The object of the expedition to Rio de la Hacha, which had set out from Margarita under the command of Colonel Montillo, (namely, the forming a junction with Urdaneta by the Val d'Upari), having been found impracticable, he drew back his army with the intention of reimbarking, when he was attacked by the Spanish General Sanchez Lima with 2500. The Irish legion, 800 strong, which constituted the chief part of Montilla's force, notwithstanding much previous insubordination, assembled in arms, and drove the Spaniards off the field. After this, the Irish becoming violently mutinous, were shipped off for Jamaica. We here give an extract of a letter from the commanding officer of the expedition, in which he describes the disgraceful and flagrantly outrageous conduct of those Irish troops.

Extract of a letter from General Montillo, commander of the expedition from Margarita, dated June 4th, on board Brion's squadron. After relating the gallant action in which 700 of his men repulsed more than 2000 of the Spaniards, he thus continues:—

This advantage gave me the highest hope of being able to advance on Santa Martha, and co-operate with Urdaneta's division in the reduction of that place; but my troops, who had long been discontented at the privations they endured, and particularly at the want of pay, which I was utterly unable to give them, refused to advance a step further unless all their claims were satisfied in full. I represented to them the impossibility of complying with their request, and urged them to march for Santa Martha, engaging to give them the whole on the capture of that place. This had no effect, and they threatened to burn and plunder La Hacha, and desert to the Spaniards, where they would be certain, they said, to be liberally paid. The Spaniards, however, had retreated so far after their last defeat, that there was no possibility of overtaking them. I then represented to them their situation—that it was impossible for them to remain there or to get away without co-operation with our fleet, and proposed, as the march by land to Santa Martha had been found impracticable, that they should go thither by sea. This they consented to, but not till they had burned a part of the town, and plundered the miserable inhabitants of Rio de la Hacha. I had previously laid an embargo on the vessels in the harbour, on board of which I had the troops conveyed in boats; and, having preconcerted the matter with Admiral Brion, each party, on coming on board, were quietly disarmed and placed in confinement. When the whole were embarked, I caused them to be informed, that I disclaimed all connexion with troops who so far disregarded the rules of discipline as to demand their pay at a moment when they knew it was impossible to comply with the request, and who threatened to burn and

destroy the houses, or plunder the persons of their friends and allies, as a revenge for such refusal. They were at liberty, I told them, to go wherever they pleased; that their arms were safely deposited on shore; and that the Republic had no further occasion for their services. The whole have sailed for Jamaica.

Colonel Montilla and Brion then proceeded to attack Savanilla, a port on the western mouth of the river Magdalena. Having succeeded in their enterprise, the whole country declared for the independents.

Massa, a partisan officer, then descended the Magdalena from Santa Fé, with a body of volunteers, in eight canoes, (one of them carrying a four-pounder), attacked the Spanish gun-boats at Tenerife, (fourteen in number, some of them mounting 14 pounders, and manned with 250 soldiers), and, in a few minutes, captured or destroyed the whole, the commandant blowing himself up. By this means, the whole course of the Magdalena, from Santa Fé to Savanilla, was opened to the patriots, and Carthagena alone remained to the Spaniards. This town was speedily invested by Montilla and Garcia, whose head-quarters were fixed at Turbaco, a league off.

Bolivar had given up his project of attacking the Spanish lines, and had proceeded towards New Grenada. At Cúcuta he concluded an armistice of one month with La Torre, who proposed it on the part of Morillo, in order to prepare for a lasting accommodation. He, however,

distinctly stated, that no terms could be listened to, unless the Republic of Colombia were acknowledged as a free, sovereign, and independent state. He then set off for Mompox, which had surrendered some time before, where he arrived on the 15th of August, and was received with an enthusiasm that surpasses all description. Thence he proceeded to Baranquilla, to inspect the gun-boats, previously to an expedition destined against Santa Martha.

The army of Paez, with divisions of Irish under Colonels Power and Lyster, remained at Calabozo, ready to join Bolivar, when occasion might require. The army of the south, under Valdez, was proceeding for Quito, having routed the garrison of Popayan, in an action in which the English, commanded by Colonel Mackintosh, greatly distinguished themselves.

At Baranquilla, Bolivar met General D'Evereux, whom he cordially received, and acquitted of any blame on account of the defection of the Irish. About the same time, his Excellency received the following declaration, signed by one of each rank in the British Legion, then in service on the Apure, expressing their regret at the conduct of the Irish at Rio de la Hacha.

To his Excellency Simon Bolivar, Liberator, President, and Supreme Chief of Colombia.

Most excellent Sir,—We, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, of the British Legion, and first light infantry of the late Irish Legion, beg leave to assure your

Excellency, that it is with feelings of the most unfeigned regret and surprise we have heard of the defection of the late Irish Legion from the cause of Independence, in which they had so generously embarked.

We regret this the more, as, by their defection at this critical moment, they, we fear, have interrupted those plans of operation formed by your Excellency, which we are sure would have been productive to them alike of honour, profit, and independence.

We beg, at the same time, to assure your Excellency of our most faithful attachment to the Republic—our unlimited confidence in all the promises made us—and our conviction, that those privations and hardships which we have already suffered, and are still liable to suffer, are to be attributed more to the nature of the war than to any unwillingness or want of exertion on the part of the Government to supply us with all the comforts of British soldiers.

With these sentiments we wait, collectively, most anxiously an opportunity of proving by our actions our firm attachment to the cause, and our inclination and willingness to sacrifice our lives under the banners of Colombia, in maintaining her liberty and independence.

John Blossell, Colonel, commander in chief.
John Deighton, Major, commanding cavalry B. L.
Charles Minshin, Captain, cavalry............... Do.
John Lannyan, Lieutenant........................ Do.
Thomas Baker, sergeant........................... Do.
Peter Slain, private soldier......................... Do.
W. Davey, Lieut.-Col. commanding infantry batt. Do.
J. W. Hodgkinson, Captain, infantry, Do.
David Stainson, Lieutenant..............Do.
John Sydenham, sergeant ....Do.
James Hawkins, private ....Do.

For and in the name of the Irish:
Brook Young, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Light Infantry.
James D. Paterson, Captain...................Do.
Walter O'Callaghan, Lieutenant..............Do.
Hugh Murray, sergeant........................Do.
Thomas Slack, private..........................Do.

Achaguas, August 25.

The expedition to Santa Martha was delayed in consequence of a sally made by the garrison of Carthagena; upon which occasion the whole corps of Colonels Ayala and Garcia, part of the blockading force, took to flight, the colonels foremost. A body of twenty-five Irish attempted in vain to sustain the fight; and Lieutenant Barnes, of the artillery, was killed, gallantly defending his gun. The sallying party succeeded in reaching Turbaco, where they massacred about a hundred inhabitants (chiefly women and children) collected in the church, and took the chest with about 3000 dollars: about fifty of the blockading party fell in the surprise. On the approach of a small party of the patriot cavalry, the Spaniards retired to Carthagena. Bolivar had set off on his return to Cúcuta a few hours only before the sally on Turbaco, which is supposed to have been particularly aimed at his person; nor are surmises of treachery wanting.

A short time after, the expedition sailed; and on the 11th of October, Fort Cienega, on the river Magdalena, was taken by storm, after the slaughter of 690 of the royalists; and next day Admiral Brion anchored his squadron before Santa Martha, which on the first summons surrendered.

The population of the country were now eager in the manifestation of their wishes for independence. The contagion was not confined to them only, but had spread greatly among the troops.

The Creoles deserted the cause of Spain by whole regiments and towns. The battalion of La Reina passed over to the patriots on the banks of the river Tuy. Navarro, the commandant of the militia in the adjacent towns, deserted from the Spaniards, and joined the independents with the greater part of his force. The canton of Guaca and the town of Canagua, likewise hoisted the standard of Colombia. La Torre, the Spanish general, felt himself compelled to retire to Caracas with the whole of his forces, fearful that all the Creoles in his army would follow the example of three hundred of his cavalry who had lately deserted.

On the 25th of November, an armistice was concluded between the two contending parties, for the purpose, as was then understood, of sending commissioners to Spain to treat about a reconciliation. It was to continue for six months. Although the hope which was at that time entertained, that it would lead to the formation of a treaty of peace upon the basis of the independence of both parties, was unhappily frustrated, still humanity will rejoice at the article that was introduced, by which hostilities, if renewed, were to be regulated according to the principles established among civilized independent states, and no longer to be carried on with that cruelty and ferocity which had until then so peculiarly characterized the struggle. The following are the particulars re-

lating to it, and terms upon which it was concluded.

(From the St Thomas's Times Extraordinary of Sunday, December 24th.)

" *Curaçoa, December 9th.*—On the 27th of last month, an armistice was signed between Generals Morillo and Bolivar, at Santa Anna, near Truxillo, consisting of 13 articles, which however had not been made public; but it was understood that they had for their basis the restoration of peace. Two deputies had been appointed on each side, to proceed to Spain, to arrange matters finally with the Cortes, and were to embark on board the corvette Descubierta, accompanied by General Morillo. They proceed in the first place for the Havannah, and will there take their passage on board a frigate for Spain.

Armistice between the Spanish and Patriot Armies.

The Governments of Spain and Colombia, desirous of stifling the discords existing between the two parties, and considering that the primary and most important step towards the reaching of this happy goal, is a reciprocal suspension of arms, in order to explain and understand each other, have entered into an agreement to appoint commissioners for stipulating and determining upon an armistice; and to this effect, his Excellency the General-in-chief of the expeditionary army of the Continent, Don Pablo Morillo, Count of Carthagena, on the part of the Spanish Government, has nominated Messrs Ramon Correa, Political Chief of Venezuela, Brigadier-general, and First Constitutional Alcalde of Caracas, Don Juan Rodriguez del Toro, and Don Francisco Gonzales Linares; and his Excellency the President of Colombia, Simon Bolivar, as Chief of the Republic, on the part thereof, has nominated Messrs Antonio José Sucre, Brigadier-general, Pedro Brisefio Mendez, Colonel, and José Gabriel Perez, Lieutenant-colonel, who, after having interchanged their respective credentials on the 22d of the present month and year, and laid down the proposals and explanations desired by both parties,

have agreed, and do agree, on a treaty of armistice, under the clauses specified in the following articles:—

Art. 1. On the part of both the Spanish and the Colombian armies, hostilities of every description will cease from the moment wherein the ratification of the present treaty shall be made public; nor will the war be continued, or any hostile act executed between the two parties, on the whole extent of the territory by them possessed, during the period of this armistice.

2. The period of this armistice will be extended to six months from the day of its ratification; but as the fundamental principlo and basis thereof is the good faith and the sincere wishes which animate both parties to terminate the war, a prorogation of this term may take place for as long as it may be found requisite, provided that, the period now stipulated being elapsed, the negociations about to be entered into are not concluded, but that there is, however, a prospect of their being brought to a termination.

3. The troops of both armies will hold the positions which they occupy at the time of their being made acquainted with the suspension of hostilities; but as it is meet to fix clear and well known limits on the spot which is the principal theatre of warfare, in order to preclude any difficulties arising from the confusion of positions, the following ones are prescribed:—

1*st*, The river Unare, ascending from its mouth in the ocean until where it meets with the Guanare; the currents of the latter running up to its source; from hence a line until the beginning of the Manapire; the currents of this as far as the Orinoco; the left border of the confluence of the Apure; this until where it receives the river Santo Domingo; the waters of the latter until the city of Varinas, whence a straight line is to be drawn until Bocono of Truxillo, and from here the natural boundary-line which divides the province of Caracas from the department of Truxillo.

2*d*, The troops of Colombia operating against Maracaibo, as soon as the armistice is made known to them, may afterwards cross through the territory occupied by the Spanish army, in order to join the other bodies of the Republican

army, provided while they are crossing this territory they be conducted by a Spanish officer. They will be also, for the same purpose, supplied with the necessaries of life, and vehicles, on paying for the same.

3d, The remainder of the troops of both parties, not comprehended within the prescribed limits, will remain in the positions occupied by them, as before stated, until the officers appointed by either party shall settle, in a friendly manner, the boundaries which are to separate the territory operated upon, and arrange the difficulties arising in the settlement of those boundaries to the satisfaction of both parties.

4. As it is probable that at the time of making public this treaty, some troops or guerillas may be found beyond the boundary-line prescribed in the 3d article, and who are no longer to remain in the territory which they occupy, the following is agreed upon :—

1st, That the regular troops who may be so situated shall withdraw beyond the boundary-line, and, among these, any belonging to the Republican army occupying the left border of the Guanare and Unare shall retire, and station themselves at Piritu, Clarines, or any other adjacent towns. And,

2d, That the guerillas in such case be disarmed, disbanded, and reduced to the class of simple citizens, or withdraw in like manner as the regular troops. In the first of these two cases, the most absolute and perfect guarantee is offered and granted to those therein comprehended; and both Governments pledge themselves, during the armistice, not to inlist them under their respective standards, but, on the contrary, to grant them leave to quit the territory in which they are, and to join the army to which they belong, at the expiration of this treaty.

5. Notwithstanding the town of Carache is situated within the line belonging to the army of Colombia, it is agreed that a military commandant of the Spanish army shall reside in it, with a party of armed peasants, not exceeding twenty-five. The civil authorities now existing there shall also remain.

6. As a proof of the sincerity and good faith which characterize this treaty, it is determined, that in the city of Varinas

no more than one military commandant of the Republic, with a party of observation of twenty-five armed peasants, shall be permitted to reside; as also, the labourers necessary for the intercourse with Merida and Truxillo, and for the conveyance of cattle.

7. Hostilities on the ocean will also cease in thirty days from the ratification of this treaty for the American, and in ninety days for the European seas. The prizes made after that period will be reciprocally returned; and privateers or cruisers will be held responsible for the damages sustained by their detention.

8. From the moment of the ratification of the armistice the communication between the respective territories shall become open and free, in order to provide each other with cattle and all kinds of subsistence and merchandise. The speculators and traders must be supplied with the necessary passports, to which they will subjoin the passes of the authorities of the territory whence the goods are taken, so as to obviate disorder.

9. The city and port of Maracaibo remains free, and adapted as an avenue for intercourse with the people of the interior, both for the necessaries of life and as regards mercantile transactions; and merchant vessels belonging to us or to Colombia, which may import goods, not being arms or warlike stores, or export the same from that port for Colombia, will be treated as strangers, and as such will pay duties, and be subject to the laws of the country. The agents or commissioners appointed by the Government of Colombia to proceed to Spain or to foreign countries, and those received by the same, shall be permitted to touch at the above places, and enter and leave the port.

10. The city of Carthagena will enjoy the same liberty as that of Maracaibo, with respect to the inland trade, and during the armistice may apply to its advantage, both as respects its population and garrison.

11. The foundation and primary object of this armistice being the negociation of peace, to the end whereof both parties must be reciprocally employed, envoys and deputies se-

lected for this purpose shall be interchanged by each Government, and be entitled to a safe conveyance, guarantee, and personal security, corresponding to their character as agents for peace.

12. If war between the two Governments should unhappily be again renewed, hostilities will not commence prior to an intimation given by the party who intends or prepares itself to break the armistice: this intimation is to be given forty days before the commencement of the first act of hostility.

13. It will be deemed an act of hostility the fitting out of any military expedition against any one of the places included in this treaty. Aware, however, that an armament of Spanish vessels of war may be at present on their way from Europe, the privilege is not refused to them of relieving an equal number of vessels of war doing service on the coast of Colombia, under the express condition that they shall not be allowed to disembark troops.

14. In order to give to the world a testimony of the liberal and philanthropic principles by which both Governments are actuated, not less to eradicate the errors and the fury which have characterized the fatal contest wherein they were involved, both Governments are by these presents obliged forthwith to enter into a treaty for the purpose of regulating the warfare, in conformity with the rights of man, and the most generous, wise, and humane practices among civilized nations.

15. The present treaty must be ratified by both parties within sixty hours, and shall be immediately communicated to the chiefs of divisions, by the officers appointed on the part of both Governments for that purpose.

Given and signed with our hands, in the city of Truxillo, at ten o'clock at night, on the 25th day of November 1820.

Ramon Correa.
Antonio José de Sucre.
Juan Rodriguez de Toro.
Pedro Brisefio Mendez.
Francisco Gonzales de Linares.
José Gabriel Perez.

The present treaty is approved by me in all its parts, and ratified. Head-quarters, Carache, November 26. 1820.

PABLO MORILLO.
JOSEPH CAPARROS, Secretary.

The following extract of a letter from Puerto Cabello, dated the 5th December, gives some further information of these important affairs:—

On the 27th ult. in the morning, General Bolivar, accompanied by his staff, met our commissioners, at the head-quarters of General Morillo. The generals embraced each other in the most friendly manner, and bitterly deplored the innocent blood that had been shed in Venezuela; and afterwards the constitution of the Spanish nation was acknowledged by General Bolivar. Both generals then took up a large stone between them, and placed it in the square of the town, to serve as a memorable testimony of their meeting. The day was spent with much joy and enthusiasm, and at night the generals slept in the same room.

On the following day two officers were dispatched with the news of this event to the kingdom of Santa Fé, two for Calabozo, two for Guayana, and two for Margarita; these latter are expected here to-day or to-morrow, and will embark on board a man of war for their destination. General Morillo granted forty passports to different officers of General Bolivar's army, to return to their homes and visit their families. This is all that we know up to this moment of these important matters; and thus have happily terminated in an instant the struggles of Venezuela, which have lasted now upwards of ten years.

Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice the gratifying intelligence of the junction of Guayaquil with the independents of Colombia was communicated in the following bulletin of the Government of Cundinamarca:—

BULLETIN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CUNDINAMARCA.

GUAYAQUIL FREE.

Caly, November 8. 1820.

IMMEDIATELY after the courier was dispatched, the following intelligence of the delivery of Guayaquil was received. I send your Excellency a literal transcript of the dispatch:—

I have the satisfaction of communicating to you an event of the greatest importance to the cause of the country.

On the morning of the 9th the troops stationed here, in conjunction with the inhabitants, displayed the flag of independence with the greatest enthusiasm. Order was so completely observed, that this transaction had more the appearance of a public rejoicing than a revolution.

I have hastened to communicate this intelligence, as it must influence your military operations, in concert with which I, as commandant-general of this province, will neglect no effort by which I may contribute to the freedom of the surrounding districts, which cannot fail to be now in motion, or at least prepared to follow our example.

I avail myself of this favourable opportunity to express to you my sentiments of friendship and fraternity. May God preserve you many years.

GREGORIO ESCOBEDO,
Commandant-General.

October 13.

To the Commander in Chief of the Division of Santa Fé, in Popayan or Los Valles.

I communicate this to your Excellency, for your satisfaction and information.

MANUEL VALDES,
General of the South.

To his Excellency F. P. Santander, the Vice-President of the Department of Cundinamarca.

At the same period Reyes Vargas, a colonel in the Spanish service, a descendant of the ancient caciques, and a man of the utmost importance in that country, notified his defection from the royal cause in the annexed energetic proclamation.

Citizen Reyes Vargas, Colonel of the Armies of Colombia, Commandant-General of the Department of Carora, and Commander-in-chief of the expedition against Coro,

To his Fellow-Citizens and old Companions in Arms.

Brothers and Friends!—These titles, so sacred to every honourable and feeling heart, have awakened in my bosom all those sentiments of patriotism which an erroneous enthusiasm had for a while suppressed. Born a Colombian, I am once more a Colombian. Thanks to the God of truth! Yes; misled by our common enemy, I have warred with a liberticidal hand, which ought only to have been raised in defence of the country; but the convulsions of our ancient mother-country has given me important lessons on the rights of men. Spain herself has taught me, that even a King is but the subject of his people, and that the real Sovereign is the people. When alienated from reason, I thought, like my ancestors, that the King was the legitimate lord of the nation: I then with pleasure exposed my life in his defence; but now that the immortal Quiroga and Riego have, with their freedom-bearing arms, discovered the imprescriptible titles of the nation, I have become convinced that the Spanish and the American people equally possess the right of establishing a government consistent with their own opinions, and for their own prosperity.

My old comrades in arms!—The Spanish constitution excludes you, under the pretence of being Africans, from the advantages which the constitution of Colombia gives you. There we are treated as nullities in society. Here we are

the first citizens of the Republic. Believe me, my friends, our arms have been employed to our own injury. Return with them to our native country, and you will be received with the same indulgence as I have been. I was its greatest enemy—I am now its most zealous defendant. Viva Colombia! To die for my country will be my glory.

REYES VARGAS.

Divisional quarter, Carora, October 21. 1820.

Morillo, seeing that all hope of recovering these provinces for the King his master was in vain, and fearful of losing the few laurels he had so dearly won, seized the present opportunity of returning to Spain, under the pretence of enforcing to his Court the necessity of speedily concluding a peace with the Colombians. He accordingly set sail in the corvette Descubierta, accompanied by the two American deputies Echevarria and Revenga, who had been sent by the Republic to arrange matters finally with the Cortes.

Every thing warranted a conclusion, that this armistice would be the prelude to a peace between the two parties. The proclamation issued by Bolivar shortly after its conclusion, strengthened this impression. It is as follows :—

TO THE LIBERATING ARMY.

SOLDIERS!—The first step towards peace is made. A truce for six months, the prelude of our future repose, has been signed by the Governments of Colombia and Spain. During that period an attempt will be made to terminate for ever the horrors of war, and close the wounds of Colombia. The Government of Spain, now free and generous, wishes to

act towards us with justice. Her generals have manifested with frankness and sincerity their love for peace, for liberty, and even for Colombia. I have received in your names the most honourable testimonies of the respect you justly merit. Soldiers! Peace for the first time sheds her splendid rays on Colombia; and with peace reckon on all the benefits of liberty, glory, and independence. Should our enemies, by a fatal blindness, which however is not to be apprehended even remotely, still persist in being unjust, are you not the sons of victory? BOLIVAR.

Head-quarters, Varinas, December 7. 1820.

That this opinion not only existed in the country, but likewise prevailed in foreign nations, may be gathered from this remarkable passage in the President's speech to the Congress of the United States on November 14. 1820.

The contest between Spain and the colonies, according to the most authentic information, is maintained by the latter with improved success. The unfortunate divisions which were known to exist some time since at Buenos Ayres, it is understood, still prevail. In no part of South America has Spain made any impression on the colonies; while in many parts, and particularly in Venezuela and New Grenada, the colonies have gained strength and acquired reputation, both for the management of the war, in which they have been successful, and for the order of the internal administration. The late change in the government of Spain, by the re-establishment of the constitution of 1812, is an event which promises to be favourable to the Revolution. Under the authority of the Cortes, the Congress of Angostura was invited to open a negociation for the settlement of differences between the parties; to which it was replied, that they would willingly open the negociation, provided the acknowledgment of their independence was made its basis, but not otherwise. Of further proceedings between them we are uninformed. No

facts are known to this Government to warrant the belief that any of the powers of Europe will take part in the contest; whence it may be inferred, considering all circumstances which must have weight in producing the result, that an adjustment will finally take place on the basis proposed by the colonies. To promote that result by friendly counsels with other powers, including Spain herself, has been the uniform policy of this Government.

In January 1821 the province of Cuenca declared its independence; and in consequence of an expedition sent by the Government of Guayaquil against Quito, (although its first object was frustrated), the districts of Hambato, Riobamba, and Quaronda, likewise hoisted the standard of liberty, and disclaimed the authority of the Spanish Government. At the same time the patriots received a great addition to their strength, by the accession of the province of Rio de la Hacha to the Republic.

Bolivar, on the 10th March 1821, addressed a letter to La Torre, the Spanish commander-in-chief after the departure of Morillo, from Bocono de Truxillo, in which he alleges, that the scarcity of provisions under which the army on the Apure, under the command of Colonel Plaza, laboured, enforced upon him the necessity of recommencing hostilities, unless the Spanish Government acceded to his just and reasonable demands. To this La Torre, in a letter of 21st March 1821, replied, that in conformity with the 12th article of the armistice, military operations would commence on the 28th of April. Thus were the

hopes and expectations fondly entertained at the beginning, that this armistice would prove the prelude to a sincere and lasting peace on both sides, dashed to the ground; and this beautiful country, stained with the blood of the contending parties for eleven years before, destined to continue still the theatre of civil war. The war, however, since the rupture of the armistice, has been carried on with infinitely less cruelty than before, and the humane reader will not meet with those scenes of horror, which so frequently occurred in the former period, and to which a cultivated mind cannot look back but with mingled feelings of disgust and horror.

The revolution which was effected in Maracaibo in January, continued undisturbed till the 28th of March, when an attempt to effect a counter-revolution was made, which was speedily suppressed, and the ringleaders imprisoned. On the 16th of April all the vessels in the port were put in requisition to receive troops destined for Gibraltar, a town situate about 60 miles from Maracaibo, on the lake of that name, to recommence hostilities on the 28th, the day the armistice was to conclude.

The Spanish generals, Morales and La Torre, were not idle on their part in their preparation for the ensuing campaign. They collected all their forces, and concentrated them about Valencia and Calabozo, leaving Caracas unprotected. Bermudez, perceiving this oversight, marched

ıpon the city with 1300 men. On his march he encountered a party of 300 men, whom he dispersed. The governor then advanced to meet him at the head of 600 men, but was likewise compelled by Bermudez to retire precipitately. The former then retreated to Caracas, and summoned the provisional junta, whom he informed that they had nothing left but to make the best terms they could with the enemy. A parley ensued; and Bermudez being asked whether he would adhere to that article of the treaty of Truxillo, by which the treatment of conquered places is regulated, and having answered in the affirmative, they declared themselves ready to admit him as friends. Those adherents to the Spanish Government who considered their safety to be compromised, fled to La Guayra, where they shipped all the property they could collect on board the ships in the roads, and sailed to Porto Cavello. The governor and troops of La Guayra accompanied them. Previous to their embarkation they held a council of war, and the evacuation of the place was resolved on: it fell in consequence, on the 15th of May, into the hands of the patriots. Coro likewise was abandoned, on learning that a body of troops from Maracaibo was marching against it. Correa, the Spanish governor, and the troops, set sail for Curaçoa, where they shortly after arrived.

On the 4th of May, the Colombian flotilla, consisting of 30 gun-boats, under the command

of Colonel Padilla, got into the harbour of Carthagena by the entrance of Passa Cavallos, and consequently cut off the communication between that city and Boca Chica, which is the impregnable defence of the city to maritime attacks. The gun-boats were moored close to the walls, and it was expected that the city could not resist much longer.

After remaining in possession of Caracas only twelve days, the patriots were driven out by the royalists on the 25th of May, who on the following day obtained possession of La Guayra. The capture of this city was effected without opposition on the part of the patriots, as Bermudez, the general who commanded their forces in this quarter, conceived his army inadequate to make any resistance.

On the 27th, after taking Caracas and La Guayra, Morales proceeded to Valencia to join La Torre, leaving Colonel Pereira with 1500 men to defend the capital against Bermudez. After some engagements of no importance, Pereira was constrained to fall back. The inhabitants of La Guayra, menaced with a new invasion, retreated to Puerto Cabello on the 22d June. On the 23d Bermudez entered Caracas to attack Pereira's division, but was defeated and put to flight by the latter, who forced him to retire to the distance of seven or eight leagues from the city.

In the mean time Bolivar and Paez had effected a junction in Varinas, whence they proceeded

owards Valencia to give battle to La Torre. On he 24th of June an engagement took place at ;arabobo, in which the Spaniards were completely lefeated. The following is the official dispatch ıf Bolivar to the President of the Congress:—

Most excellent Sir,—Yesterday the political birth of he Republic of Colombia was confirmed by a splendid 'ictory.

The divisions of the liberating army having joined in the ılains of Tinaquillo on the 23d, we marched yesterday morn-ng on the enemy's head-quarters in Carabobo.

The first division, composed of the brave British battalion, he Bravo of Apure, and 1500 cavalry, under the orders of ;eneral Paez. The second, composed of the second brigade ıf guards, the battalions of tirailleurs, Boyaca, and Vargas, ınd the sacred squadron, commanded by the undaunted ;olonel Arismendi, under the orders of General Sedeño. Fhe third, composed of the first brigade of guards, the batta-ions of rifles, grenadiers, vanquishers of Boyaca, Auzuategui, ınd the intrepid Colonel Rondon's regiment of cavalry, under .he orders of Colonel Plaza.

Our march across the mountains and through the defiles, vhich separated us from the enemy's camp, was rapid and ›rderly. At eleven in the morning we defiled by our left in 'ront of the enemy, and under his fire: we crossed a rivulet, vhere only one man could pass at once, in presence of an ırmy placed on an inaccessible level height, commanding us n every direction.

The gallant General Paez, at the head of the two bat-:alions of his division, and the brave Colonel Muñoz's re-;iment of cavalry, attacked the enemy's right with such 'ury, that in half an hour he was thrown into confusion, and :ompletely routed. It is impossible to do sufficient honour to the valour of our troops. The British battalion, command-ed by the meritorious Colonel Farriar, distinguished itself

amongst so many other brave men, and suffered a heavy loss of officers.

The conduct of General Paez in this last and most glorious victory of Colombia, renders him deserving of the highest military rank: and I, therefore, in the name of the Congress, offered on the field of battle to appoint him General in Chief of the army.

None of the second division partook in the action, except a part of the tirailleurs of the guard, commanded by the worthy commandant Heras. But its general, enraged that all his division could not, from the obstacles of the ground, join in the battle, charged singly a mass of infantry, and fell in its centre, in the heroic manner that ought to close the career of the bravest of Colombia's brave. In General Sedeño the Republic has lost a staunch supporter, both in peace and war: none more valiant than he, none more obedient to his Government. I recommend the ashes of the gallant hero to the Sovereign Congress, that the honours of a solemn triumph may be paid to his memory.

Like grief does the Republic suffer in the fall of the dauntless Colonel Plaza, who, filled with an unparalleled enthusiasm, threw himself on a battalion of the enemy, desiring it to surrender. Colonel Plaza is deserving of Colombia's tears, and that Congress confer on him the honours due to his distinguished heroism.

The enemy being dispersed, the ardour of our chiefs and officers was so great in the pursuit, that we sustained considerable loss in that high class of the army. The bulletin will communicate their illustrious names.

The Spanish army exceeded 6000 men, composed of all the best of the pacificatory expeditions. That army has ceased to exist: only 400 men will have this day taken refuge in Puerto Cabello.

The liberating army had an equal force to that of the enemy; but not more than a fifth part of it decided the fortune of the day. Our loss is not great—hardly 200 men in killed and wounded.

Colonel Rangell, who did, as he always does, prodigies, marches this day to take up a line against Puerto Cabello.

May it please the Sovereign Congress to accept, in the name of the heroes whom I have the honour to command, the homage of a conquered army, the most numerous and the finest that ever in Colombia carried arms in a field of battle.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, most excellent Sir, &c. &c. &c. BOLIVAR.

Head-quarters of the Liberating Army,
Valencia, June 25. 1821.

To his Excellency the President of the Congress.

As far as regards the independence of Colombia, this battle may be considered as decisive. Never was victory more complete, nor attended with more important consequences. The royalist forces took refuge, after the battle, in the fortress of Puerto Cabello.

On account of these events transpiring with the main army, the troops under Pereira gave up their pursuit of Bermudez, for the purpose of moving on Caracas. In his march he was intercepted by another division of independent troops, and compelled to retire upon La Guayra. He arrived there on the 2d July, after a forced march. Thither Bolivar, who entered Caracas on the 30th June, directed his route, and surrounded the place with a corps of 4000 men.

The garrison, which consisted of 900 men, were reduced to a state of starvation, when Rear-admiral Jurien, commanding a French squadron in those seas, anchored in the road-stead. Pereira declared his determination to the adjutant sent

by the admiral, to die rather than surrender to Bolivar; and he requested the admiral to embark the Spanish garrison, and convey it to Puerto Cabello. Jurien conceiving mediation the only course to be pursued, towards a reconciliation of the duties and interests of both parties, engaged Pereira to accept the capitulation of Bolivar, on condition that that general should consent to the embarkation of the Spanish troops on board of the French ships. This, which was the only means of safety, was eagerly embraced by the officers and soldiers of the Spanish garrison; and negociations were soon after commenced. Early in the morning of the 4th July, a field-officer in the Spanish service, and an aide-de-camp of Bolivar, repaired on board the Colosse, the flag-ship of Jurien, to notify that the capitulation was acceded to, and that the embarkation was to take place immediately. Thus, owing to the good offices of the French admiral, an end was put to this affair by the milder means of negociation, and much effusion of blood spared, to the satisfaction of all parties.

After the victory of Carabobo, the enemy, who had retired to Puerto Cabello, sent out some detachments under the command of Ramos and Alejos, for the purpose of effecting a counter-revolution among the inhabitants of the plains but lately liberated. A division of vessels with troops on board was dispatched to La Vela de Coro. To place the inhabitants in safety from the incursions

of the guerilla parties of the enemy, Bolivar thought it advisable to divide the western part of the country into two military departments. The one, consisting of the provinces of Coro, Maracaibo, Merida, and Truxillo, was placed under the command of Mariño; the other, consisting of the provinces of Varinas and Caracas, was confided to Paez. In addition to the precautions which we have just mentioned, a battalion of infantry, and regiment of cavalry, were posted at Calabozo, a squadron at San Carlos, and a battalion at the city of Araure. The districts of Barcelona, Cumana, and Margarita, were likewise organized into a military department, and placed under the direction of Bermudez. Brizeno was dispatched with a thousand men, joined to a column of troops under Gomez, and another division of 500 men, against the expedition which had arrived from Puerto Cabello against Coro. Mariño, with two battalions of reserve, fixed his head-quarters at Carora, in order to proceed wherever necessity might call him. The remainder of the cavalry retired to the other side of the Apure. Bolivar, at the same time, dispatched 800 men from Esmeraldas to Guayaquil, under the command of Colonel Mackintosh, to proceed against Quito from that side, whilst he should attack it from Pastos.

Having now informed our readers of the plans taken by the patriots, to liberate the provinces yet under the dominion of the Spaniards, and of the means they resorted to, to protect the inhabi-

tants of the country in their possession from the predatory incursions of the neighbouring enemy, it is necessary we should advert to the no less important labours of those persons, who were called upon to re-organize a country so long torn and distracted by civil war, and instill into the minds of its possessors habits diametrically opposite to those they had been so long accustomed to. The Committee of Legislation, to whom the arduous task of forming a constitution for the Republic of Colombia was confided, presented the following Report to the Sovereign Congress:—

REPORT of the Plan of the Constitution for Colombia, presented by the Committee of Legislation to the Sovereign Congress.

THE Committee of Legislation places in your hands the plan of the Constitution for Colombia, which they have just finished. In this labour, they have had before their eyes not only what the Congress of Venezuela had sanctioned, but also all that has been written since the establishment of the representative system.

The short time allowed them for these labours, and the necessity of yielding to the repeated instances of many deputies, who wished it to be immediately presented, do not allow their entering minutely upon it. They will, therefore, reserve for the moment of its discussion several explanations, which may serve to illustrate some points of it, confining themselves at present to remark generally, that in this plan the fatal mania (which has so much prevailed) of adopting theoretical systems, only because they seem to present political perfection at its height, and which only serve to augment philosophical principles and abstract maxims, without any advantage accruing to mankind, has by no means been followed by them. On the contrary, the committee has endeavoured to establish those

principles only which have a direct application, and from which some real good may result, or some interesting consequence may be drawn, avoiding as dangerous all that is merely speculative. Political science is the result of many centuries of experience and observations. It fills one with wonder, how, after so many thousand years in which the human race has been multiplying itself, perfecting the arts and sciences, or creating new ones, giving existence to powerful empires or colossal nations, which have disappeared from the face of the globe, they should be so young and ignorant in that science which concerns most their felicity, and in which they were in some measure forced to study and meditate, in order to direct their affairs. But the more we wonder at the infancy of the representative system, and at the long chain of outrages, oppressions, and evils of all kinds, which the human race must have endured before wringing from nature this happy secret, the more we ought to be exact, that we may not go astray from the path which other wise nations have traced for us.

Were we, however, to adhere blindly to their laws, to their practices, to all their usages and customs, we should then run as much danger as if we were to outdo them. The path to the temple of liberty is long and full of precipices. Many sacrifices, and many years of constancy, are required to go through it. Thus it is that we ought to adopt only those first methods which form the basis of our system. It is not possible to bring down with a single blow the enormous mass of our prejudices, customs, and habits. It will be sufficient to undermine it, and to paralyze it. Let us resign the perfection of this work to the progress of knowledge, to the influence of the present age, to the gradual efforts of the legislative body, and to the seeds of a slow and happy metamorphosis, which contains within itself the principles established in the plan of our constitution.

The manner of election in Colombia will be nearly the same as that adopted in the system of the constitution for Venezuela. An election rigorously democratic does not yet suit us, neither will it suit us for many years to come; and we

doubt whether it will ever suit us, so well as that which we do now propose. It has been thought necessary to give to the Congress the share, which in the most perfect popular elections is observed. We shall show, in its proper place, the inconveniencies which otherwise presented themselves, and the advantages that may result from this.

The committee does not hesitate in showing the importance, or rather the necessity, of dividing the legislative body into two chambers, for every body knows the solid reasons, founded on long experience, which support this wise measure.

The members of the senate are not elected during life, as in the constitution of Venezuela. The members of a legislative body ought never to be so in a popular system. Abuses would come sooner or later. Perpetual senators, men invested with the authority of judging even the highest magistrates, and possessing so important a part, not only in the making of the laws, but also in the nomination to the highest posts, would gradually arrogate privileges to themselves—would in time look upon themselves as forming a distinct class from the people—would make common cause with the executive power, and, if a favourable opportunity were found, would overthrow the constitution. In a system which is representative in all its parts, such as the one which we propose, the neutral body between the people, who wish to annul authority, and the executive power, which is always tending to augment it, is not the senate, but the whole of the legislative body: it is the whole that possesses a supreme inspection over the highest magistrates; it is the whole that watches over the preservation of the empire and of the constitution. That which divides the exercise of their functions is nothing more than this—the representatives of the people accuse, and the senate judges; but both chambers are equally inspectors, both have the same interest in the preservation of order. Would it not then be a folly to make perpetual the whole legislative body? From this to the total destruction of the system of representation would be only a step.

In our form of government it is not necessary that the equilibrium should originate in a rigorous system of war,

which was the case in some ancient ones, and which must, by the same act, be imperfect, although time may have consolidated them. Where the executive power is hereditary, or at least during life,—where the person who exercises it is looked upon as inviolable, and having no responsibility,—and where he is considered as a being of a different sphere, and superior to the rest of the nation, and not as a member of it, —one perceives easily the necessity of an intermediate body, which, in the difficult circumstances in which the people may find themselves, should make common cause with them to avoid their being crushed by such immense power: but where the executive power is of short duration, where it possesses none of those immense prerogatives, and where it may at any time descend from so high a post, if abusing its power, we cannot see the necessity or the advantages arising from the existence of a perpetual body, which would at last reduce to nothingness either the popular representation or the executive power.

Nothing would be more absurd than the introduction of a dictator into our Republic. Such an expedient, so fatal to liberty, is the best proof of the infancy of those nations which have adopted it. It has always ended by making them slaves. The committee has foreseen those cases which might serve as a pretext for adopting such a strange measure; and it is to the legislative body alone that the power of granting that authority which the safety of the Republic might demand, is given; always, however, restricting it to facts, to places, and to a determined period. Thus will the constitution exist at all times; in none of the extremities of the Republic will there be an omnipotent authority; and never will liberty have any thing to fear.

But neither the separation of the powers, or the frequent elections of the supreme magistrates, or the responsibility to which all are subject, are sufficient guarantees for liberty. An abject people, who cannot publish their opinions, and call to account before the supreme tribunal of public censure the functionaries of the state, cannot call themselves free; the unhappy citizens, who for the least cause, or through the mere

caprice of the judges, may see themselves cast into a dungeon, or exposed to have their properties seized, can never be true citizens, nor feel their own dignity; nor will they know how to sacrifice themselves for a liberty, the value of which is unknown to them. Without individual liberty no public liberty can exist, just as without individuals there can be no cities, and without these there is no nation.

The inward conviction of this truth has directed the committee to draw up the eighth section of the plan, where the enjoyment and protection of these prerogatives of a freeman are asserted—prerogatives, in the preservation of which you ought to build all your hopes of seeing the representative system consolidated, and the Colombian changing the manners of a slave into the noble ones of a great and virtuous nation.

There still remains to be made the division of the departments of the Republic; to create the courts of justice; to assign their attributes; to organize as well as possible the most impartial and expeditious method of administering justice; to appoint salaries to all the officers of government; to establish laws and punishments for the abuses of the press; and to extend a law to the naturalization of foreigners. The committee is at present engaged in these labours, which they will very soon have the satisfaction of presenting to you.

The committee will add one word on the plan of constitution made by the present Vice-President of the Republic, Antonio Nariño. It is practicable in our days, and may be so for some time to come: but it goes considerably astray from the principles established by the best political writers, and confirmed by the long practice of the most civilized nations: it is a mere speculation, not yet supported by any favourable experience; and this alone, omitting other reasons, would suffice to exclude it from a preference. We have nothing more to add here, than to repeat the very words of the author of the plan made use of, in the discourse with which it is preceded. "What, says he, does a sound reason dictate to us to do? Is it not to do that which is most agreeable to the present times, without shutting the door to future generations, that

they may, according to circumstances, do that which will suit them best? Why then should we, from this moment, anticipate it, and do it all? Why should we shut upon them the door, to expose them to a convulsion, or to prevent them from doing that which they would think most proper?" It seems as if he was impugning his own labour when he wrote this clause. However, should you think it expedient to go into a strict analysis of the defects and irregularities of that plan, the committee is ready to perform it, although till this moment a small part of it only has yet been presented.

As for the plan now presented by the committee, they hope that its first principles at least will obtain your approbation, if it were only to economize the time which would be spent in attempting to make a better one. If they obtain this, they will think their labours sufficiently compensated. For the remainder, they will always see, with satisfaction, those improvements which may be suggested by the wisdom of the Congress—thus rendering it a work calculated to constitute the happiness of Colombia, and deserving of the admiration of the wisest nations.

City of Rosario, July 3. 1821. Jose Manuel Restrepo, Luis Ignacio Mendoza, Vicente Azuero, Diego Fernando Gomez, Jose Cornelio Valencia.

At length the constitution, which was to secure the liberty and prosperity of Colombia, was published. It does credit to the projectors of it: a spirit of republicanism pervades the whole; and a laudable fear, which it would be well to cultivate, lest the executive power should engross the supreme authority, appears to have actuated the minds of the majority. Objections to many of the articles may be raised, and no doubt, frequently with justice. Many of the laws adapted to their present situation, would be unsuitable to a more

improved state of the country. Of this they themselves seem to have been aware; and, profiting by the errors committed by other lawgivers, who absurdly contemplated the eternal excellence of their laws, the Congress have inserted the 191st article, in which it is ordained, that after the practice of a certain number of years have pointed out its advantages and defects, a grand convention of Colombia shall be convened by the Congress, authorized to examine and amend it in all respects.

As the establishment of this constitution was the sole aim and object of the war between the colonies and the mother-country, and consequently forms a most important feature in its history, we have inserted it here at full length. Our readers may thus judge for themselves of the advantages which it holds out to the oppressed and persecuted inhabitants of the Old World, backed by that beauty of climate and fertility of soil so peculiarly the attributes of the New.

CONSTITUTION

OF

THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

THE GENERAL CONGRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF COLOMBIA.

COLOMBIANS!—The most ardent desire of all and each of your Representatives has been, to perform faithfully the high duties which you have assigned to them; and they believe that they have fulfilled those sacred functions in presenting to you the Constitution, which has been sanctioned by the general voice. In it you will find, that, on the basis of the union of a people formerly constituting different states, has been raised the firm and solid edifice of a nation whose government is popular representation, of which the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, accurately divided, have their duties marked out and defined, yet forming a whole of so combined and harmonious a kind, that by it are protected security, liberty, property, and equality of law.

The legislative power, divided into two chambers, gives you full share in the formation of your laws, and the best right to hope that they will

ever be just and equitable: you will not be bound but by those to which you have consented through the medium of your representatives, nor will you be subject to any other taxes than those which they have proposed and approved: no burdens can be imposed on any one which shall not be common to all; and these shall not be imposed to satisfy the passions of individuals, but to supply the wants of the Republic.

The Executive Power, combined in one person, to whom it belongs to watch over the internal tranquillity and external security of the Republic, possesses all the faculties necessary for the discharge of its high duty. You will find that, in the splendour of its authority, it may confer benefits, but can cause no injury: its sword will be unsheathed only against the enemies of the Government, without the possibility of offending the peaceful Colombian: it resembles a sun whose beneficent warmth, diffused throughout the territory of the Republic, contributes to develop the precious seeds of our happiness and prosperity. Public education, agriculture, commerce, the arts and sciences, and all the branches of national industry, are under the order of its wise administration, and subject to its benign influence.

The Judicial Power, where the attempts of intrigue lose all their force, and riches their ascendency,—before which no one can appear with a serene countenance, unless he be clothed in the simple garb of justice, is destined impartially

to remove your strifes, to restrain the evil-doer, and to cherish innocence: at its respected seat all will render homage to the law; and you will there behold the passions subdued, the trammels of artifice cut asunder, and the truth laid open.

Such is the plan on which has been raised the Constitution of Colombia. Your Representatives have placed an unbounded confidence only in the laws; for it is they which must secure equity between all and each, and which are at once the support of the dignity of the Colombian, the source of liberty, and the soul and council of the Republic.

The General Council, in its deliberations, has had no other views than the common good, and the aggrandizement of the nation. The principal agents of the Government depend on your elections: consider, meditate well, that on the right conduct of these depends your happiness, —that intrigue and faction should never direct your judgment; whilst knowledge, virtue, and valour, prudently chosen and elevated by you, are the firm columns which perpetuate the duration of the edifice.

At the city of Rosario de Cúcuta, 30th of August 1821—the 11th year of independence.

(Signed)

Dr Miguel Peña, President of the Congress.
Rafael, Obispo de Merida de Maracaibo, Vice-President.
The Deputy Secretary, Francisco Soto.
The Deputy Secretary, Miguel Santa Maria.
The Deputy Secretary, Antonio Jose Caro.

CONSTITUTION

OF

THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

In the name of God, the Creator and Legislator of the Universe,

We, the Representatives of the People of Colombia, assembled in General Congress, complying with the desires of our constituents, in order to fix the fundamental laws of their union, and to establish a form of government which shall ensure to them the blessings of liberty, security, property, and equality, in so far as is possible in a nation which begins its political career, and which meanwhile struggles for its independence, ordain and agree as follows:—

TITLE FIRST.

OF THE COLOMBIAN NATION, AND THE COLOMBIANS.

Section I.—*Of the Colombian Nation.*

Article 1. The Colombian nation is for ever and irrevocably free and independent of the Spanish monarchy, and of all other foreign power and dominion whatsoever; and it is not, nor shall ever be, the patrimony of any family or person.

Article 2. The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. The magistrates and officers of government, with whatever kind of authority invested, are its agents and commissioners, and are responsible to it for their public conduct.

Article 3. It is the nation's duty to protect, by wise and equitable laws, the liberty, security, property, and equality of every Colombian.

SECTION II.—*Of the Colombians.*

Article 4. Who are Colombians?

1. All men free-born in the territory of Colombia, and their children.

2. Those living in Colombia at the time of its political transformation, provided they remain faithful to the independent cause.

3. Those, not born in Colombia, who may obtain letters of naturalization.

Article 5. The duties of the Colombians are,—to submit to the constitution and the laws, to respect and obey the authorities which are its organs, to contribute to the public expenses, and to be ready at all times to serve and defend their country, offering the sacrifice of both property and life for it, if necessary.

TITLE SECOND.

OF THE TERRITORY AND GOVERNMENT OF COLOMBIA.

SECTION I.—*Of the Colombian Territory.*

Article 6. The territory of Colombia is that which comprehends the ancient Viceroyalty of New Grenada, and Captain-Generalship of Venezuela.

Article 7. The inhabitants of the aforesaid territory, who are still under the Spanish yoke, at whatever time they may free themselves, shall form part of this Republic, with rights and representation equal to the other parts which compose it.

Article 8. The territory of the Republic shall be divided into departments; the departments into provinces; the provinces into cantons; and the cantons into parishes.

SECTION II.—*Of the Colombian Government.*

Article 9. The Government of Colombia is popular representation.

Article 10. The people shall not exercise of themselves any other attribute of government than that of the primary elections; nor shall they deposit the exercise of it in the hands of one only. The administration of the supreme power shall be divided into Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

Article 11. The power of making laws belongs to the Congress; that of causing them to be executed, to the President of the Republic; and that of applying them in civil and criminal cases, to the Tribunals and the Judges.

TITLE THIRD.

OF THE PAROCHIAL AND ELECTORAL ASSEMBLIES.

SECTION I.—*Of the Parochial Assemblies, and the Scrutiny of these Elections.*

Article 12. Each parish, whatever may be its population, shall hold a parochial assembly, the last Sunday in July of every fourth year.

Article 13. The parochial assembly shall be composed of the parochial electors who are not suspended, inhabiting each parish, and shall be presided over by the judge or judges thereof, with the assistance of four witnesses of good credit, in whom concur the qualifications of the parochial elector.

Article 14. The judges, without waiting for any orders, ought indispensably to convoke it, at the aforesaid periods, for the day marked in the constitution.

Article 15. For qualification of parochial elector it requires,

1. To be a Colombian.
2. To be married, or above 21 years of age.
3. To be able to read and write; but this condition will not have effect till the year 1840.
4. To possess landed property to the clear amount of 100 dollars. The exercise of some trade, profession, commerce,

or useful industry will supply this defect, having a house or open workshop, independent of another, in the class of journeyman or servant.

Article 16. The right of parochial elector is lost—

1. By accepting an employ under another government, without leave of the Congress, holding the same with a salary, or exercising any other office in that of Colombia.

2. By any sentence which imposes any painful and degrading punishment, provided re-qualification be not obtained.

3. For having sold his vote, or bought another's, for himself or for a third person, be it in the principal assemblies, in the electoral, or in any other.

Article 17. The exercise of the parochial franchise is suspended—

1. In madmen and fools.

2. In bankrupt debtors, and in persons, not being regular inhabitants, who are declared as such.

3. To those who have any criminal suit against them, until they be declared absolved, or condemned to any punishment not painful or degrading.

4. In debtors to the public treasury, after the expiration of the term of payment.

Article 18. The object of the parochial assemblies, is the vote for the elector or electors of the canton.

Article 19. The province to which one representative belongs, will name ten electors, distributing their nomination among the cantons it contains in proportion to the population of each.

Article 20. The province which nominates two or more representatives, will have as many electors as belong to the cantons which compose it; each canton choosing one elector for every 4000 souls, and one more for a residue of 300. Every canton, although it may not amount to this number, will always have an elector.

Article 21. To be an elector, it is required—

1. To be a parochial elector not suspended.

2. To be able to read and write.

3. To be above 25 years of age, and an inhabitant of the parishes of the canton where the election takes place.

4. To possess landed property amounting to the full value of 500 dollars, or to hold an employ of 300 dollars of annual salary, or to be an annuitant of property producing yearly an annuity of 300 dollars, or to profess some science, or to possess a scientific degree.

Article 22. Each parochial elector shall vote for the elector or electors of the canton, naming publicly the same number of other citizens, inhabitants of the same canton, which shall be inscribed in his presence, in a register kept for that sole purpose.

Article 23. The doubts or controversies which may arise on the qualifications and forms of the parochial votes, and the complaints which may be made on subornation of bribery, shall be decided by judges, and accompanying witnesses, and their determination shall then be carried into effect; but with the power of appeal to the council of the canton.

Article 24. The elections shall be public; and no one may present himself there armed.

Article 25. The elections shall be open for the term of eight days, which being concluded, the assembly is dissolved; and any further act by it, against the constitution and law, not only is null, but a crime against the public peace.

Article 26. The election concluded, the judge or judges who may have presided at the assembly, shall remit to the council the register of the votes in his parish, folded up and sealed.

Article 27. As soon as the packets of the parochial assemblies are received, the council of the canton, presided over by one of the customary judges, and in default of one of them, by one of the Magistrates, shall assemble in public session. In their presence the packets of the parochial assemblies shall be opened, and they shall make lists of and compare all the votes, inscribing them in a register.

Article 28. The citizens who have the greatest number of votes, shall be declared constitutionally chosen electors.

When any doubt arises from the equality of votes, it shall be decided by lot.

Article 29. The council of the canton shall remit to the council of the capital of the province the result of the election it has verified, and shall also give immediate notice to those nominated, that they may assemble in the capital of the province on the day fixed by the constitution.

SECTION II.—*Of the Electoral or Provincial Assemblies.*

Article 30. The electoral assembly is composed of the electors named by the cantons.

Article 31. On the 1st day of October of every fourth year, the electoral assembly shall meet in the capital province, and shall proceed to make all the elections that belong to it, two-thirds at least of the electors being present. The council of the capital shall preside at this assembly, while they elect from among its members as a president, him who obtains the greatest number of votes.

Article 32. The 24th and 25th articles are common to the electoral assemblies.

Article 33. The office of elector shall continue for four years; the vacancies shall be filled by those who follow next in number of votes.

Article 34. The functions of electoral assemblies to vote—

1. For the President of the Republic.
2. For the Vice-President of the same.
3. For the Senators of the department.
4. For the Representative or Representatives deputed from the province.

Article 35. The votes of these four classes of election shall be written in four different registers, and the same electoral assembly shall proceed to the examination of the last.

Article 36. A representative of a province is required to have obtained an absolute majority, that is to say, a majority of one or more votes above the half of the electors who may have participated in this election.

Article 37. The representatives shall be nominated one by one, in a permanent sitting; and those who have obtained the foresaid majority shall be declared elected. If no one have such majority, the two having the greatest number shall enter into a second scrutiny, and he who has the plurality shall be representative. Cases of equality shall be decided by lot.

Article 38. The election for a representative or representatives being thus completed, the president of the electoral assembly shall make it known to those elected, without any delay whatsoever, that they may assist at the next assembly; and the registers, folded and sealed, shall be remitted to the chamber of representatives.

Article 39. With equal formality, and without scrutiny, shall be remitted to the council of the capital of the department, the registers of the votes for the President and Vice-President of the Republic, and for the Senators, in order that as soon as the packets of all the provincial assemblies are received, it may direct them to the Chamber of the Senate, for the purposes stated in Section 5. Title iv.

TITLE FOURTH.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

SECTION I.—*Of the Division, Limits, and Functions of this Power.*

Article 40. The Congress of Colombia shall be divided into two chambers, that of the Senate, and that of the Representatives.

Article 41. In either of these, laws may have their origin; and each respectively may propose to the other amendments, alterations, or additions, in order that it may examine them, or refuse its consent to the proposed law, by an absolute negative.

Article 42. Laws respecting contributions or imposts are excepted: they can only originate in the chamber of representatives; but the customary right of adding to, altering, or refusing them, remains with the senate.

Article 43. The *projets* or propositions of laws which may be accepted, according to the rules of debate, shall undergo three discussions, in distinct sittings, with the interval of a day at the least between them, without which they cannot be determined on.

Article 44. In case the proposition should be urgent, the last formality may be dispensed with, a discussion and declaration of such urgency preceding it in the same chamber where it originates. This declaration, and the reasons for it, shall pass to the other chamber conjointly with the projet of law, that it may be examined. Should that chamber not think the urgency called for, the projet shall return to be tried with the legal formalities.

Article 45. No projet, or proposition of law, rejected in one chamber, can be presented again, until the sitting of the following year; but this shall not prevent any of its articles composing part of other propositions which have not been rejected.

Article 46. No projet, or proposition of law, constitutionally accepted, discussed, and determined on by the two chambers, can be considered the law of the Republic, until it has been signed by the executive power. Should they not think proper so to do, the projet shall be returned to the chamber in which it originated, with the amendments accompanying it, whether it be from defect of form or of substance, before the expiration of ten days from its receipt.

Article 47. The amendments presented by the executive power shall be written in the journal of the sittings of the chamber whence the law emanated. Should they not be satisfactory, the law may again be discussed, and being a second time approved of by a majority of two-thirds of the members present, it may pass with its amendment to the other chamber. The projet will then become a law.

Article 48. Should the ten days fixed in Article 46. be passed, and the projet not be returned with the objections, it shall have the effect of a law, and shall be declared as such, unless during this time the Congress shall have

adjourned or been prorogued, in which case the objections must be presented in the beginning of the next session.

Article 49. The sanction of the executive power is also necessary to enforce the other resolutions, decrees, statutes, and legislative acts of the chambers, excepting those of the suspension and summoning of its sittings, the decrees by which they give commissions in matters of their own superintendence in the elections which belong to them, in the decisions as to the qualifications of their members, the orders to fill up vacancies in the chambers, the rules of their debates and external economy, the punishment of their members, and those who fail in respect to them, and all other acts in which the concurrence of the two chambers may not be necessary.

Article 50. Propositions which have passed as urgent through the two chambers, shall be sanctioned, or returned by the executive power, within two days, without reference to their urgency.

Article 51. In passing the deliberations of one chamber to the other, and to the executive power, the days on which the subject was discussed, the date of the respective resolutions, that of the urgency, should there be any, and the exposition of the reasons and grounds which have been the cause of it, shall be expressed. When any of these requisite forms are omitted, the act shall be returned, within two days, to the chamber in which the omission has occurred, or to the chamber whence it originated, should the omission have occurred in both.

Article 52. Whenever a law has to go to the executive power for its sanction, it shall be drawn up in duplicate, and shall be read to both the chambers. The two originals shall be signed by their respective presidents and secretaries, and shall be immediately presented by a deputation to the President of the Republic.

Article 53. The law being sanctioned or objected to by the President of the Republic, with reference to the Article 46. one of the originals, with its decree, shall be returned to the two chambers by the secretary of the respective dispatch, to

register them. This original shall be preserved in the archives of the chamber where the law originated.

Article 54. For the publication of the law, this form shall always be used:—" The Senate and Chamber of Representatives of the Republic of Colombia, assembled in Congress, &c. decree."

SECTION II.—*Of the Especial Attributes of the Congress.*

Article 55. The attributes exclusively belonging to the Congress are,—

1. To fix every year the public expenses, with a view to those which are presupposed, and which the executive power shall present to it.

2. To decree what is needful for the administration, preservation, and alienation of the national property.

3. To establish all kinds of imposts, duties, or contributions, to watch over its collection, and to give account of it to the executive power and the other officers of the Republic.

4. To contract debts upon the credit of Colombia.

5. To establish a national bank.

6. To determine and regulate the value, weight, cast, and name of the coin.

7. To fix and regulate weights and measures.

8. To create the courts of justice, and the inferior tribunals of the Republic.

9. To decree the creation or suppression of public places; to determine, to diminish, or to augment their salaries.

10. To establish rules of naturalization.

11. To grant personal rewards and recompenses to those who have done great service to Colombia.

12. To decree public honours to the memory of great men.

13. To decree the inlistment and organization of the armies. To determine their force in peace, and to fix the time they ought to continue.

14. To decree the construction and equipment of the marine; to augment or diminish it.

15. To form regulations by which to govern the land and sea forces.

16. To declare war with a view to the data which the executive power presents to it.

17. To require of the executive power that it negociate for peace.

18. To give its consent and approbation to the treaties of peace, of alliance, of friendship, of commerce, of neutrality, and all other treaties of the executive power.

19. To promote by laws public education, and the progress of the sciences, arts, and useful establishments, and to grant for a limited time exclusive rights, in order to stimulate and encourage them.

20. To grant general pardon when some great motive of public convenience demands it.

21. To choose the city which must serve for the seat of government, and to change it when judged necessary.

22. To fix the limits of the departments, provinces, and other divisions of the territory of Colombia, as may be most convenient for its better administration.

23. To permit or refuse the passage of troops of another nation through the territory of Colombia.

24. To permit or refuse the station of the squadrons of another state in the ports of Colombia for more than a month.

25. To grant to the executive power, during the present war of independence, those extraordinary powers which they may judge indispensable in those parts which are actually the theatre of military operations, and in those recently liberated from the enemy; but diminishing them as much as possible, and fixing that time only which shall be thought of imperative necessity.

26. To decree all other laws and ordinances, of whatever nature they may be, and to alter, amend, and annul those established. The executive power can only present a message, which it may take into consideration, but never in the form of law.

SECTION III.—*Of the Economic Functions and the Prerogative, common to the Two Chambers and to their Members.*

Article 56. Each chamber has the right of establishing the regulations which should be observed in its sittings, debates, and deliberations. Conforming to these, they may punish any of its members infringing them, or in whatever manner they may be culpable, with the punishments established; even to expelling and declaring them unworthy of obtaining any other office of confidence or power in the Republic, when such is decided by the unanimous votes of two-thirds of the members present.

Article 57. Neither chamber can open its sessions without the concurrence of an absolute plurality of its members; but, in every case, the existing number, whatever it may be, shall unite and compel the concurrence of those absent, in the manner, and subject to the punishments which the same chambers are liable to.

Article 58. The sittings of each year once open, the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present shall suffice for their continuance, provided those two-thirds be never less than the two-thirds of the absolute plurality.

Article 59. The chambers, in the house of their sittings, shall enjoy the exclusive right of its regulation, and, out of it, all which conduces to the free exercise of their functions. In the exercise of this right, they may punish or cause to be punished, with the punishments they shall have prescribed, all those who fail in respectful duty, or who conspire against the body, or privileges of its members; or whoever, in any other way, disobey or embarrass their orders and deliberations.

Article 60. The sittings of both chambers shall be public, but may be made secret when they think it necessary.

Article 61. The proceedings of each chamber shall appear in a daily register, in which its debates and resolutions shall be written, which shall be published from time to time, with the exception of those things which ought to be reserved, according to the opinion which each may form; and always,

when the fifth part of the members present demand it, the votes of its members shall be expressed *viva voce*, upon every motion or deliberation.

Article 62. Each chamber shall elect, from among its members, a President and Vice-President, whose functions shall be annual, from one ordinary session to the other, and shall nominate a secretary. It shall also nominate the officers it may judge necessary for the performance of its duties; assigning, to those employed, adequate salaries.

Article 63. The communications between the chambers and the executive power, or between themselves, shall be conducted by their respective presidents, or by means of deputations.

Article 64. The senators and representatives hold that character for the nation, and not for the department or province which nominates them: they cannot receive either orders or private instructions from the electoral assemblies, which can only present petitions.

Article 65. The President and Vice-President of the Republic, the minister of the high court of judicature, the secretaries of the cabinet, the intendants, the governors, and others publicly employed, who are prohibited by law, cannot be either senators or representatives. The rest may be either, provided they suspend the personal exercise of their offices during the sittings. When a senator or representative is nominated for any other public employ, it will remain for his electors to admit or to reject him.

Article 66. The members of Congress enjoy immunity in their persons and property during the sessions, and while going from or returning to their houses, except in case of treason, or other grave crime against social order; and they are not responsible for speeches and sentiments spoken in the chamber, to any authority, or at any time whatever.

Article 67. The senators and representatives shall obtain from the national treasury an indemnification, fixed on by law, computing the time lost in coming from their homes to the place of assembly, and in returning to them at the close of the sessions.

SECTION IV.—*Of the Time, Duration, and Place of the Sitting of the Congress.*

Article 68. The Congress shall assemble precisely each year, verifying the opening of its accustomed sessions, the 2d of January.

Article 69. Extraordinary assembly of the Congress shall last ninety days. In case of necessity, it may be prolonged thirty days more.

Article 70. The chambers shall be in one and the same parish, and, while assembled, their sittings shall not be suspended more than two days, nor adjourned to any other fixed place from that in which they should reside, without mutual consent; but if, agreeing in the change, they differ respecting the time and place, the executive power shall have the right to interpose in fixing a middle term between the extremes of dispute.

SECTION V.—*Of the Scrutiny and correspondent Election to the Congress.*

Article 71. In the years of election, the Congress shall meet in the chamber of the Senate. In its presence shall be opened the packets of the elections for President and Vice-President of the Republic, and for the Senators of the departments, and lists shall be made of all the votes of the electoral assemblies, writing them in the register corresponding to each class of elections. The scrutiny shall be publicly made by four members of Congress and the secretaries.

Article 72. To be President of the Republic, two-thirds of the votes of the electors who meet in the provincial assemblies shall be necessary. He who obtains this majority shall be declared President.

Article 73. Whenever the aforesaid majority fails, the Congress shall separate the three who have most votes, and proceed to elect one from among them; he who obtains in this election the votes of two-thirds of the members present, shall be President of the Republic.

Article 74. If, when the scrutiny is finished, no one remains selected, the Congress shall contract the voting to the two who have the greatest number in the antecedent act.

Article 75. The election of President shall be made in a single session, which shall be a permanent one.

Article 76. The Vice-President of the Republic shall be elected with the same formalities as the President.

Article 77. The Congress shall declare those to be senators who have obtained the absolute plurality of the votes of the electors of each department who meet at the election.

Article 78. If the majority be not in favour of any one, or of several, this being indicated, the Congress shall distribute a number equal, or, if there be no equality, approximating the triple of those who fail among those who have most votes. This separation accomplished, it shall proceed to elect from among them, one by one, those who have to be nominated. Should no election result from the scrutiny, it shall be repeated according to Article 74.

Article 79. In cases of doubt, by reason of equality in elections, it shall be decided by lot.

Article 80. When a senator or representative is lost by death, resignation, or any other cause, the vacancies shall be filled by Congress choosing one among the three, who, *in the* registers of the electoral assemblies, have the next greatest number of votes; but if, in the said registers, there be not this number, the respective chamber will expedite orders to nominate some other person, in the manner prescribed by the constitution. The duration of the nomination shall only be until the nearest customary elections.

Article 81. If the same person be nominated, at the same time, by the department of his birth and by that of his habitation, or by the province of his birth and that of his habitation, the nomination shall be good for that of the birth.

Article 82. The Congress shall inform those who are nominated to the places of President, Vice-President, and Senators, that they may meet to take possession of them on the day appointed.

Article 83. The actual Congress nominates on this first occasion, the President, the Vice-President, and the Senators of the Republic.

SECTION VI.—*Of the Chamber of Representatives.*

Article 84. The Chamber of Representatives is composed of the deputies nominated by all the provinces of the Republic, conformably to this constitution.

Article 85. Each province shall nominate a representative for every thirty thousand souls of its population; but if there remain a surplus of fifteen thousand souls, another representative shall be nominated. Every province, whatever its population may be, shall nominate one representative at least. The existing Congress shall signify by a decree the number of representatives which each province should nominate, until censuses are formed of the population.

Article 86. The proportion of one for thirty thousand shall continue the rule of representation, until the number of representatives amount to one hundred; and although the population may increase, the number of representatives shall not, on that account, be augmented; but the proportion shall advance until one representative belongs to every forty thousand souls. In this state of one for forty thousand, the proportion shall continue until the representatives amount to one hundred and fifty, and then, as in the before mentioned case, the proportion shall be fifty thousand for one. In all these circumstances, one representative shall be nominated by a remainder which amounts to one-half the fundamental number.

Article 87. He cannot be a representative, who, added to the qualifications of electors, does not possess—

1. The quantity of natives, or inhabitants of the province which elects him.

2. Two years' residence in the territory of the Republic immediately before the election. This requisite does not exclude those absent on the service of the Republic, or with permission of the Government, or prisoners, exiles, or fugitives

from the country, owing to their attachment to the cause of independence.

3. Landed property of the full amount of 2000 dollars, or an income of 500 dollars annually, or a professorship of some science.

Article 88. Those not born in Colombia require, in order to be representatives, to have resided eight years in the Republic, and to possess ten thousand dollars in landed property: those are excepted who were born in some part of the American territory which in the year 1810 belonged to Spain, and which has not been united to any other foreign nation: to such, a residence of four years, and five thousand dollars in landed property, shall suffice.

Article 89. The chamber of representatives has the exclusive right of accusing before the senate the President of the Republic, the Vice-President, and the ministers of the high court of justice, in every case of conduct manifestly contrary to the weal of the Republic, and to the duties of their offices, or of gross crimes against social order.

Article 90. The other officers of Colombia are also subject to the inspection of the chamber of representatives; and it may accuse them before the senate, for the ill discharge of their functions, or other grave crimes. But this power neither derogates nor diminishes that of the other chiefs and tribunals to watch over the observance of the laws, and to judge, depose, and punish, according to those laws, their respective subalterns.

Article 91. The duration of the functions of representatives shall be for four years.

Article 92. To the chamber of representatives belongs the qualification of the elections, and of their respective members, their admission, and the solution of any doubts which might arise respecting it.

SECTION VII.—*Of the Chamber of the Senate.*

Article 93. The Senate of Colombia shall consist of the Senators nominated by the departments of the Republic, con-

formably with this constitution. Each department shall have four senators.

Article 94. The duration of the functions of the senators shall be eight years; but the senators of each department shall be divided into two classes: those of the first shall be vacant at the end of four years, and those of the second at the end of eight years; so that every four years an election of half of them shall be made. At that time the chamber, at its first meeting, shall decide by lots the two senators from each department whose functions are to expire at the end of the first period.

Article 95. To be a senator, besides the qualifications of elector, it requires—

1. To be thirty years of age.

2. To be a native, or inhabitant of the department which makes the election.

3. Three years' residence in the territory of the Republic immediately preceding the election, with the exceptions of article 87.

4. To be possessed of property of the full amount of 4000 dollars in landed property, or in defect of this, the annuity or rent of 500 piastres, or being a professor of some science.

Article 96. Those not born in Colombia cannot be senators without a residence of twelve years, and 16,000 dollars in landed property. Those are excepted who were born in some part of the American territory which in the year 1810 belonged to Spain, and which has not united itself to any other foreign nation, to whom six years' residence and 8000 piastres in landed property shall suffice.

Article 97. It is a special attribute of the senate to exercise the natural power of a court of justice, in hearing, judging, and sentencing the officers of the Republic, accused by the chamber of representatives, in the cases of the Articles 89 and 90.

Article 98. In the cases in which the senate performs the functions of a court of justice, the chamber of representatives shall choose one of its members to perform the office of

accuser, who shall proceed according to the orders and instructions which the chamber gives him.

Article 99. The senate may conduct the trial itself, or by a commission emanating from itself, reserving the sentence which it shall itself pronounce.

Article 100. Whenever an accusation proposed before the senate is admitted by it, the accused shall be instantly suspended from his office, and the authority to which it belongs fill the place provisionally.

Article 101. No one can be condemned at that tribunal without the unanimous votes of two-thirds of the senators present.

Article 102. The determination of the senate, in those cases, cannot extend beyond depriving the convicted of his place, and declaring him incapable of obtaining other honour, profit, or confidence in Colombia; but the accused shall, notwithstanding, remain subject to accusation, trial, sentence, and punishment according to law.

Article 103. In those cases in which the senate judge it proper, the president of the high court of justice, or any of its members, shall assist at its judgments, in order to inform and instruct it in the law.

Article 104. The decrees, acts, and sentences, which the senate pronounces in these judgments, may be executed without the sanction of the executive power.

TITLE FIFTH.

OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

SECTION I.—*Of the Nature and Duration of this Power.*

Article 105. The executive power of the Republic shall be vested in one person, with the title of President of the Republic of Colombia.

Article 106. The President shall be a citizen of Colombia by birth, and must have all the other qualifications required as a senator.

Article 107. The duration of the Presidency shall be for four years; and he cannot be re-elected more than once without intermission.

Article 108. There shall be a Vice-President, who shall exercise the functions of President in case of death, deprivation, or retirement, until a successor shall be named, which must be done at the next meeting of the electoral assemblies. He shall also perform the functions, in case of absence, sickness, or any other temporary incapacity of the President.

Article 109. The Vice-President of the Republic must have the same qualification as the President.

Article 110. The President of the Senate shall supply the deficiencies of President and Vice-President of the Republic: but when they are filled up, these shall immediately proceed to fill up the vacancies according to this constitution.

Article 111. The duration of Presidency and Vice-Presidency, nominated out of the times appointed by the constitution, shall only be till the next customary meeting of the electoral assemblies.

Article 112. The President and Vice-President shall receive for their services the salaries allowed by the law; which salaries shall never be augmented or diminished during their term of occupation.

SECTION II.—*Of the Functions, Duties, and Prerogatives of the President of the Republic.*

Article 113. The President is chief of the general administration of the Republic. The preservation of order and tranquillity in the interior, and the security of the exterior, are especially committed to him.

Article 114. He promulgates and commands the execution and fulfilment of the laws, decrees, statutes, and acts of the Congress, when, conformably to Section 1. of the 4th Title of this constitution, they have the force of such; and he ex-

pedites the decrees, regulations, and instructions, which may be proper for their execution.

Article 115. He convokes the Congress at the periods marked by this constitution, and in other extraordinary cases, in which the importance of some occurrence demands it.

Article 116. He issues all necessary orders to give facility to the constitutional elections.

Article 117. He holds throughout the Republic the supreme command of the land and sea forces, and is exclusively charged with its direction; but he cannot command them in person, without the previous resolution and consent of the Congress.

Article 118. When, conformably with the preceding article, the President commands in person the forces of the Republic, or any part of them, the functions of the executive power will fall by such act to the Vice-President.

Article 119. He shall declare war in the name of the Republic, when the Congress has decreed it, and make all the necessary preparations.

Article 120. He concludes treaties of peace, alliance, friendship, armistice, commerce, neutrality, and all others, with foreign princes, nations, or people; but without the consent and approbation of the Congress, confirmation is neither given nor refused to those already concluded by plenipotentiaries.

Article 121. With the previous resolution and consent of the Senate, he shall nominate all ministers and diplomatic agents, and military officers above the rank of colonel.

Article 122. During the recesses, he may fill up the said situations, when their nomination is urgent, until the next ordinary or extraordinary meeting of the Senate, when they shall be filled conformably to the preceding article.

Article 123. It also belongs to him to nominate the other civil and military officers, which the constitution or the law does not reserve for any other authority.

Article 124. He must take care that justice be administered promptly and completely by the tribunal and judges of the Republic, and that their sentences be duly fulfilled and executed.

Article 125. He may suspend from their functions officers who are incapable, or who are delinquents as to duty; but he shall at the same time inform the tribunal to which they belong, transmitting therewith the reasons or documents which were the motives of the act, that justice may be done according to the laws.

Article 126. He may not deprive any individual of his liberty, nor impose any punishment whatever. In case the weal and security of the Republic demand the arrest of any person, the President may issue orders to that effect; but only on condition that, within forty-eight hours, he shall cause him to be delivered up to the disposition of the competent tribunal or judges.

Article 127. In favour of humanity, he may, when some special occasion requires it, commute capital punishments, in concert with the judges who know the cause, whether on his or their suggestion.

Article 128. In case of interior commotion menacing the security of the Republic, and in that of exterior and sudden invasion, he may, with the previous accord and consent of Congress, direct all those extraordinary means which may be indispensable, and which are comprehended in the natural sphere of his attributes. If the Congress should not be assembled, he shall have the same power by himself; but he shall convoke it without the least delay, in order to proceed according to its resolution. This extraordinary authority shall be exclusively limited to the times and places absolutely necessary.

Article 129. The President of the Republic, at the opening of the annual sittings of Congress, shall give account in the two chambers of the political and military state of the nation, its income, expenses, and resources, and shall point out the ameliorations or reforms which can be made in each branch.

Article 130. He shall also give to each chamber all the information it may require, reserving that of which the publication may not then be proper, provided it is not contrary to what he presents.

Article 131. The President of the Republic, while he holds that office, can be accused and judged only before the Senate, in the cases described in the Article 89.

Article 132. The President may not quit the territory of the Republic during his Presidency, nor for one year after, without permission of Congress.

Section III.—*Of the Council of Government.*

Article 133. The President of the Republic shall hold a Council of Government, which shall consist of the Vice-President of the Republic, of one minister from the high court of justice, nominated by himself, and of the secretaries of dispatch.

Article 134. The President shall take the opinion of the council in all cases coming under Articles 66, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 127, 128, and in others of importance which may happen, or appear of importance to him; but he shall not be obliged to follow these in his deliberations.

Article 135. The council shall keep a register of all its opinions, and shall send every year an exact copy of it to the Senate, excepting only those affairs which are reserved, while there exists a necessity for reserve.

Section IV.—*Of the Secretaries of Dispatch.*

Article 136. There shall be five secretaries of state for the dispatch of affairs, viz.—for foreign affairs, for the interior, for finance, for the marine, and for war. The executive power may temporarily unite two secretaries in one.

Article 137. The Congress shall make the alterations which experience shews is required in these offices, or which circumstances exact; and, by a particular regulation which the executive power shall make, subject to its approbation, they shall assign to each secretary the affairs which belong to him.

Article 138. Each secretary is the precise and indispensable organ by which the executive power delivers its orders to the authorities under it. Any order not authorized by the

respective secretary, ought not to be executed by any tribunal, nor by any person, public or private.

Article 139. It is the duty of the secretaries of dispatch to give to each chamber, with the concurrence of the executive power, all information demanded of them, by writing or verbally, in their respective branches, reserving that only which it is not proper to publish.

TITLE SIXTH.

OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

SECTION I.—*Of the Attributes of the High Court of Justice, the Election and Duration of its Members.*

Article 140. The high court of justice shall be composed of five members at least.

Article 141. To be minister of the high court of justice it is required—

1. To enjoy the rights of an elector.
2. To be a counsellor not suspended.
3. To be thirty years of age.

Article 142. The ministers of the high court of justice shall be proposed by the President of the Republic to the Chamber of Representatives in three times their number. The chamber shall reduce this number to double, and shall present it to the Senate, that it may name those who should compose it. The same order shall always be followed, when by death, privation, or retirement, it may be necessary to replace all the high court, or any of its members. If the Congress be not assembled, the executive power shall provisionally fill the vacant places, until the election is made in the form prescribed. On this occasion they shall be nominated by the actual Congress.

Article 143. To the high court of justice belongs the cognizance—

1. Of disputes of ambassadors, ministers, consuls, or diplomatic agents.

2. Of controversies which may arise out of the treaties and negociations made by the executive power.

3. Of disputes which have arisen or which may arise in the superior tribunals.

Article 144. The law shall determine the rank, form, and circumstances in which it ought to take cognizance of the above named, and of all other affairs, civil and criminal, which may be assigned to it.

Article 145. The ministers of the high court of justice shall remain in their situations as long as they conduct themselves well.

Article 146. At fixed periods appointed by law, they shall receive for this service the pay assigned to them.

SECTION II.—*Of the Superior Courts of Justice, and the Inferior Tribunals of Judicature.*

Article 147. For the quicker and easier administration of justice, the Congress shall establish throughout the Republic the superior courts which it may judge necessary, or which circumstances may henceforth require, assigning the territory to which their respective jurisdiction shall extend, and the places of their residence.

Article 148. The ministers of the superior courts shall be nominated by the executive power on the proposal of thrice the number from the high court of justice. Their duration shall be that expressed in Article 145.

Article 149. The inferior courts of judicature shall continue for the present on terms which shall be prescribed by a particular law, until the Congress varies the administration of justice.

TITLE SEVENTH.

OF THE INTERIOR ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

Section I.—*Of the Administration of the Department.*

Article 150. The Congress shall divide the territory of the Republic into six, or a greater number of departments, for their more easy and convenient administration.

Article 151. The political direction of each department shall be in a magistrate, with the denomination of Intendant, subject to the President of the Republic, whose natural and immediate agent he shall be. The law shall determine his powers.

Article 152. The intendants shall be named by the President of the Republic, conformably to what Articles 121 and 122 prescribe. Their duration shall be for three years.

Section II.—*Of the Administration of the Provinces and Cantons.*

Article 153. In every province there shall be a governor, who shall have the immediate direction of it, subordinately to the intendant of the department, and the powers detailed by the law. He shall continue and be nominated for the same time as the intendants.

Article 154. The intendant of the department is the governor of the province, in the capital of which he shall reside.

Article 155. The councils and municipalities of the cantons remain. The Congress shall regulate their number, limits, and attributes, and whatever may conduce to their better administration.

TITLE EIGHTH.

GENERAL DISPOSITIONS.

Article 156. Every Colombian has the right of freely writing, printing, and publishing his thoughts and opinions, sub-

ject to no examination, revision, nor censorship whatever, anterior to publication. But those who abuse this inestimable liberty, shall suffer the punishment which they have drawn upon themselves according to the laws.

Article 157. The liberty which the citizens have of reclaiming their rights before the depositaries of the public authority, with due moderation and respect, shall neither be impeded nor limited. Every one, on the contrary, shall find a quick and secure remedy, on appeal to the laws, for the injuries and losses he may suffer in person, in property, in honour, and reputation.

Article 158. Every man is presumed to be innocent until pronounced guilty, conformably to the law. If, before this declaration, it may be judged necessary to arrest or seize him, it shall not be done with any rigour which is not indispensable to secure his person.

Article 159. In criminal affairs no Colombian can be arrested unless a summary information of the fact precede, and he be liable, according to law, to corporal punishment.

Article 160. In the fact, every delinquent may be taken; and all may arrest and conduct him to the presence of the judge, that the provisions of the preceding article may be instantly carried into effect.

Article 161. To arrest a citizen it requires—

1. An order of arrest, signed by the authority to whom the law confides this power.

2. That the order express the cause of imprisonment.

3. That he be informed and receive a copy thereof.

Article 162. No magistrate nor gaoler may put into or keep in prison any person, without having before received the order of imprisonment or arrest of which the preceding article treats.

Article 163. The magistrate or gaoler cannot prohibit the communication of the prisoner with any person whatsoever, unless the order of imprisonment contain a clause to prevent communication. This cannot last more than three days; and there shall never be any other constraint, or mode of imprisonment, than what the judge expressly commands.

Article 164. Those are guilty and subject to the punishment of arbitrary detention—

1. Who, without legal power, arrest, cause or command to be arrested, any person whatsoever.

2. Who, having the said power, abuse it, by arresting, or commanding to be arrested, or continuing under arrest, any person, in cases not determined by law, or contrary to the prescribed forms, or in places not publicly and legally known as prisons.

3. Who contravene what is ordered in Articles 162 and 163.

Article 165. Whenever the causes of arrest, detention, or imprisonment, disappear, the person arrested shall be set at liberty. He may also obtain it by giving bail in any stage of any cause in which it is clear that capital punishment cannot be inflicted. At the time of taking the confession of the person prosecuted, which at most should be within three days, all the documents and declarations of the witnesses, with their names, shall be read throughout; and, if they are not known, all possible information for identifying them shall be given.

Article 166. No one can be judged by special commission, except by the tribunals before which the case is cognizable by law.

Article 167. No one can be judged, much less punished, except by virtue of a law anterior to the crime or act, and after he have been heard, or legally cited; and no one shall be admitted, nor obliged on oath, nor by any other constraint, to give testimony against himself in criminal cases; neither shall those, reciprocally toward each other, who are ascendants and descendants, and are relations unto the fourth civil degree of consanguinity, and second of affinity.

Article 168. All treatment which aggravates the punishment fixed by law, is a crime.

Article 169. The house of a Colombian can never be entered, except in those cases fixed by law, and under the responsibility of the judge who issues the order.

Article 170. The private papers of the citizens, as well as other epistolary correspondence, are inviolable; and their register, examination, or interception, can never be made, except in cases expressly prescribed by law.

Article 171. Every judge and tribunal, ought to pronounce its sentences in the terms of the law or rule applicable to the case.

Article 172. In no trial shall there be more than three appeals; the judges who have decided in one, cannot assist at the same trial in another.

Article 173. The infamy which affects some crimes, shall never be transmitted to the family or descendants of the delinquent.

Article 174. No Colombian, except employed in the marine, or in the army, in actual service, shall be subject to, nor suffer the punishment awarded by military laws.

Article 175. One of the first attentions of Congress shall be to introduce, in certain kinds of causes, the trial by jury, until the advantages of this institution being practically well known, it may extend to all criminal and civil cases to which it is commonly applied in other nations, with all the proper forms of this procedure.

Article 176. Soldiers, in time of peace, cannot quarter themselves, nor take lodgings in the houses of other citizens, without the consent of the master; nor, in time of war, can they do so, except by an order of the civil magistrates, conformably to the laws.

Article 177. No one shall be deprived of the least portion of his property, nor shall it be applied to the public service without his own consent, or that of the legislative body. When any public necessity, legally proved, requires the property of any citizen for such purposes, the condition of just recompense must be presupposed.

Article 178. No kind of work, cultivation, industry, nor commerce, shall be prohibited to Colombians, excepting those which at present are necessary for the subsistence of the Republic, and which shall be laid open when the Congress judges it proper and convenient.

Article 179. The rule of the eldest son succeeding to the parents' property, and every kind of entails, is prohibited.

Article 180. No quantity of gold, silver, paper, or other equivalent, shall be taken from the public treasury, except for the objects and purposes ordained by law; and there shall be published annually a statement and regular account of the receipts and expenses of the public funds, for the information of the nation.

Article 181. All titles of honour granted by the Spanish Government are extinct, and the Congress may not grant any title of hereditary nobility, honour, or distinction, nor create any situations or offices, of which the pay or emoluments may last longer than the good conduct of those who hold them.

Article 182. Any person exercising an office of confidence or honour under the authority of Colombia, cannot accept any present, title, or emolument, from any king, prince, or foreign state, without the consent of Congress.

Article 183. All foreigners, of whatever nation, shall be admitted into Colombia: they shall enjoy, in their persons and property, the same security as the other citizens, so long as they respect the laws of the Republic.

Article 184. Those not born in Colombia, who, during the war of independence, have made, or may make one or more campaigns with honour, or do other very important services in favour of the Republic, are equal with its natives in their capability to obtain all employments which do not require them to be citizens of Colombia by birth, as long as they possess the same recommendations.

TITLE NINTH.

OF THE OATH OF THOSE IN OFFICE.

Article 185. No officer of the Republic shall exercise his functions without having taken the oath to sustain and defend the constitution, and to fulfil, faithfully and correctly, the duties of his office.

Article 186. The President and Vice-President of the Republic shall take this oath in presence of the Congress, before the president of the senate. The presidents of the senate, of the chamber of representatives, and of the high court of justice, shall take it in presence of their respective corporations; and the individuals of them shall take it before their presidents.

Article 187. The secretaries of dispatch, ministers of the superior courts of justice, superintendents of departments, governors of provinces, generals of the army, and the other principal authorities, shall swear before the President of the Republic, or the person to whom this function is committed.

TITLE TENTH.

OF THE OBSERVANCE OF THE ANCIENT LAWS, AND OF THE INTERPRETATION AND REFORM OF THIS CONSTITUTION.

Article 188. Those laws shall be declared in their force and vigour, which hitherto have ruled all matters and points, neither directly nor indirectly opposed to this constitution, nor to the decrees and laws which the Congress may make.

Article 189. The Congress shall resolve whatever doubt may occur as to the meaning of any article of this constitution.

Article 190. At any time when the two-thirds of each of the chambers may judge the amendment of any article of the constitution convenient, the Congress may propose it, in order that it be taken again into consideration, when is required at least the half of the members of the chambers which propose the amendments; and if then also it be ratified by two-thirds of each, agreeably to the form prescribed in the 1st Section of the 4th Title, it shall be valid, and make part of the Constitution. But they can, in no case, alter the basis contained in Section 1. Title 1. and in Section 2. of the Title 2.

Article 191. When all or the greatest part of that territory of the Republic which is now under the Spanish power, shall become free, it may join with its representatives in perfecting

the edifice of their happiness; and after a practice of ten or more years have discovered all the inconveniencies and advantages of the present Constitution, a grand convention of Colombia shall be convoked by the Congress, authorized to examine and to amend it in all respects.

Given in the first General Congress of Colombia, and signed by all the deputies present, in the town of Rosario de Cúcuta, the 30th of August in the year of our Lord 1821, the eleventh of independence.

D. MIGUEL PENA, President of the Congress.
RAFAEL OBISPO DE MERIDA DE MARACAIBO,
Vice-President of the Congress.

Luis Ignacio Mendoza, Vicente Azuero, Diego F. Gomez, José Y. de Marquez, Antonio Maria Brizeño, Joaquin Fernandez de Soto, José Antonio Borrero, Miguel de Zarraga, Diego B. Urbaneja, José Antonio Yanez, Manuel Benitez, Pedro F. Carbajal, Alejandro Osorio, Jose Cornelio Valencia, Joaquin Borrero, Salvador Camacho, Francisco de P. Orvegozo, Dr Ramon Ignacio Mendez, Mariano Escobar, Ildefonso Mendez, José F. Blanco, Domingo B. Y. Brizeño, José Maria Hinestrosas, Miguel Dominguez, Bartolome Osorio, Jose Antonio Paredes, Juan Ronderos, J. Prudencio Lanz, Manuel Maria Quijano, Sinforoso Mutiz, Miguel de Tobar, José Gabriel de Alcala, J. Francisco Pareyra, Joaquin Plata, Dr Felix Restrepo, Pedro Gual, José Manuel Restrepo, Casimiro Calvo, Juan Bautista Esteves, Gabriel Brizeño, Francisco José Otero, Lorenzo Santander, José Ignacio Balbuena, Nicolas Ballen de Guzman, Pacifico Jayme, Bernardino Tobar, Miguel Ibañez, José de Quintana Navarro, Policarpo Uricoechea, José A. Mendoza, Carlos Alvarez, Vicente A. Borrero, Andres Rojas, Francisco Gomez, Corbellon Urbina, Francisco Conde.

The Deputy Secretary, FRANCISCO SOTO.
The Deputy Secretary, MIGUEL SANTA MARIA.
The Deputy Secretary, ANTONIO JOSE CARO.

Bolivar was re-elected President according to the new constitution; and Santander, who had distinguished himself by the many judicious regulations he had made during his residence in Bogota, was elected Vice-President of the Republic.

On the 25th of September proposals were made and accepted for the surrender of Carthagena, one of the strongest and best fortified cities the Spaniards possessed in America. On the following day, 26th, Miguel Martinez, aide-de-camp to Montillo, who commanded the patriot besieging army, arrived express at Savanilla from Turbaco, where the independent forces were encamped, with an order for all vessels in that port to discharge their cargoes, and proceed to Carthagena to take the garrison to Cuba. On this, the following proclamations to the inhabitants of Carthagena, and the soldiers under his command, were addressed by Montillo:—

Carthagenians!—At last, after so much suffering as that which is the result of a long siege, and the evils arising from being continually under a foreign dominion, you again will breathe the benefits of liberty, and join your brothers of Colombia.

Carthagenians! Whoever, like me, has seen you maintain the rights of the country in 1815 against General Morillo, cannot entertain the least doubt of your adherence to the independent system; and being convinced of that fact, what will I not do to alleviate your troubles, to organize your administration—in a word, to make you forget your sufferings?

Carthagenians! If any one tells you I come animated by any other sentiment, he deceives you: he is your enemy. The valiant troops I have the honour to command, are your

brothers; and their conduct has merited the public esteem. This is proved by the satisfaction which reigns in the provinces under my command.

Europeans! You have nothing to fear by remaining among us, as long as you respect the laws and institutions of Colombia. Look upon Santa Martha; there you will meet a portion of your countrymen protected by Government, and dedicated to agriculture and commerce. They deserve the approbation of the citizens and the consideration of the magistrates. Imitate them, and be happy.

Citizens! Government, incessantly watching for the happiness of the people, will have the city of Carthagena in contemplation; and the hero of Colombia, the Libertador President, has been the first in spreading his beneficent ideas on that province.—They are consigned in the instructions he gave me when he thought proper to appoint me to promote its delivery.

Carthagenians! Forget your misfortunes, and hope every thing from Government and the constitution of Colombia.

Head-quarters at La Popa, the 3d of October 1821—11th of the independence.

MARIANO MONTILLO, General-in-chief.

MARIANO MONTILLO, General of Brigade, and Commander-in-chief of the Forces on the northern coast of Cundinamarca, &c. to the Troops of the Forces under his command.

Soldiers!—At last you have fulfilled the noble object for which you were destined by Government; and Carthagena, the strong Carthagena, the fortress of Cundinamarca, belongs to the Republic of Colombia. Your efforts and privations—your constancy and sufferings—your valour and virtue—are rewarded by the noble pride you must feel, in seeing the garrison which defended it capitulate.

Soldiers! The supreme Government, which expected no less from your love of liberty, will be generous in rewarding you; and if it has remunerated the brave of Boyaca and Carabobo,

it will remember those of the army of the coast.—But what do I say? Would you perchance require any other reward than that of having delivered your brothers?—Any other glory than that of seeing the *tricolor* flag hoisted on the walls of the city, and your enemies furrowing the ocean to return undeceived to Spain? No! the mercenary soldiers are only those that are moved by interest. Those of the Republic, animated with the social fire of independence, aspire only for glory.

Soldiers! Receive the testimony of my gratitude for your services, and proceed as you have done till this day—a true model of patriots and of subordination.

Head-quarters at La Popa, 3d October 1821—11th of the independence.

MARIANO MONTILLO, General-in-chief.

On the 5th of October the city was finally delivered up, and taken possession of by the patriots.

About this period was published by the Congress the following

LAW ON THE REPARTITION OF THE NATIONAL DOMAINS.

THE General Congress of Colombia, considering it to be one of the most sacred duties of the Republic to reward its servants for the great sacrifices they have made for the consolidation of its liberty and independence, and at the same time wishing to give the most exact fulfilment to the repeated promises made to them, that their services would in due time be rewarded, has decreed and does decree as follows:—

Article 1. The grants made to the military by the law of the 6th January 1820, decreed by the Congress of Venezuela, and by that of the 10th October 1817, which is therein mentioned, and are as follows, are confirmed in all their parts:—

To the General-in-Chief,	-	25,000 dollars.
Generals of Division,	- -	20,000
Generals of Brigade,	- -	15,000
Colonels,	- - -	10,000
Lieutenant-Colonels,	- -	9,000
Majors,	- - -	8,000
Captains,	- - -	6,000
Lieutenants,	- - -	4,000
Second Lieutenants, (Ensigns),		3,000
1st and 2d Serjeants,	- -	1,000
1st and 2d Corporals,	- -	700
Privates,	- - - -	500

Article 2. These grants are to be understood as applying only to those who were in the service of the Republic, from the campaign of 1816 to 15th February 1819, when the Congress of Venezuela was established at Angostura, and also to those foreigners who came, in virtue of the law of the 10th October 1817, to fight for the independence of Colombia, and arrived in her harbours previous to the 6th May 1820, as was agreed by the said Congress of Venezuela.

Article 3. To be entitled to the whole of these grants, it is necessary to have served at least two years during the period mentioned in the preceding article, as was stipulated in the declaration of the 17th November 1817, issued by the supreme chief, the present President of the Republic: those who have not served the whole of that time will be allowed a proportional part, corresponding to their length of service; and, at all events, the grant corresponding to the last rank they obtained during the said period will be allowed to them.

Article 4. The property of the military deceased descends to their immediate heirs, and, in default of them, will revert to the state; but, in either case, the widows will enjoy one-half of their husband's property.

Article 5. The military who have not yet received their claims, may dispose of them at any time as they may think proper.

Article 6. To the payment of these grants are destined,—

1. All the lands that may have been or may be confiscated, according to the existing laws, or to those that may be enacted in future, but which have not been appropriated up to the date of the publication of this law.

2. If these should not be sufficient, grants of waste land may be made at the value generally put upon the fanegada, (a Spanish land measure, about one-tenth more than a statute acre).

3. All other national property, moveable and immoveable, that can be appropriated thereto, shall also be applied to those payments; and in case of there still being some grants to liquidate, the payment thereof shall be made out of the funds of the Republic, according as the exigencies of the war and our foreign credit may permit.

Article 7. The executive power is sufficiently authorized to pay the claims of the military out of the national property, taking care to observe, as far as possible, that equality and proportion which justice demands.

Article 8. In order that this may be effected with the regularity and economy which should always exist in the management of public property, the Government will appoint a principal commission to reside in the capital of the Republic, so that it may in due form receive proofs, and decide on them, keep the accounts, order the valuation of, and deliver such property as the Government may have to grant to the military, and which shall be effected in conformity with the regulations decreed by the said Government. The commission shall be under its immediate direction.

Article 9. The executive power shall appoint such subordinate commissions as it may consider proper in other places to facilitate the operations. They will execute the orders communicated to them by the principal commission, to which they will give an account of their proceedings, and will act in every thing under its direction.

Article 10. The said executive power will issue the necessary directions, in order that the principal commission may, with the greatest possible dispatch, receive proofs, adjust, and take account,—

1. Of the military who have claims upon the grants mentioned in article 1. that lists may be taken of them, and inserted in the books of the commission.

2. Of those who have received the whole or part of their claim.

3. Of the amount remaining due to each, and of the total amount due by the Republic on account of the said grants.

Article 11. It will likewise order that a statement be immediately made of the national securities and property existing in each of the provinces, directing also that the portion of the sequestrated property accruing to the state be ascertained according to law, in order that arrangements may instantly be made to preserve the said property from the ruin with which it is threatened, if it remain any longer in a state of confiscation.

Article 12. All the national property that may be appropriated to the military shall be valued by surveyors: this shall be effected before it is claimed by any one, and before any application be made by the Government. The same shall be effected with respect to the property already appropriated to the payment of grants of an ascertained amount, on which such valuation has not been previously made.

Article 13. The commission which existed in the town of Angostura, and which was authorized to issue *vales* in favour of the military, shall be suppressed; all the papers in its archives shall be transferred to the one ordered to be appointed by this law.

Article 14. The circulation of the said vales, or bills, on the public treasury, is absolutely prohibited: the military may avail themselves of them to prove the amount of the claims awarded to them, or which they may have received; the claims of the third holders of these bills remaining undisputed, will be in a state of payment so soon as the commission shall have taken account of them, respecting which the Government will issue the necessary instructions, to prevent fraud.

Article 15. Considering that it was by arms that the vital principles of the Republic were renewed and extended, the payment of the claims of the military, mentioned in the 1st,

2d, and 3d articles of this law, and of the officers employed in the administration of the armies, of whom mention is made in the 8th and 9th articles of the law of the 6th January 1820, and who, being attached to the war department, are known to have a claim to military rank, shall be made in preference to those of the purely civil officers, who have also claims according to the two last mentioned articles; but the Government, being in possession of the necessary information, is authorized to make some grants to them, according to their services.

Article 16. The sale of the national property being already prohibited by this law, which, by the third article of the law of the 9th January 1822 was equally applicable to the obligations of the public treasury, granted for the acknowledgment of arrears of salary, as well for the military as civil officers, until the 15th February 1819, the Government is authorized to make the payments of either out of the said national property, observing as much as possible the order of years, and the regulations laid down in the 8th, 9th, and 12th articles.

Article 17. The Government will also take care that the commission adjust the amount due for arrears of salary on the civil and military list, the same to be effected at least within a year. The necessary documents by which their claims may be proved at any time, shall be delivered to the individuals interested by the respective offices.

Article 18. The executive power will clear up all doubts and difficulties that may arise in the execution of the present law, and will present to the approaching Congress statements of the awards made, and of the total amount of national property that may have been, or that may be applicable to the discharge of this portion of the public debt.

To be communicated to the executive power, for the publication and fulfilment thereof.

Given in the Palace of the General Congress of Colombia, at Rosario de Cúcuta, the 28th September 1821,—11th of Independence.

Jose Ignatio de Marquez, President of Congress.
Francisco Soto, Deputy Secretary.
Antonio Jose Caro, Deputy Secretary.

At the Palace of the Government, at Rosario de Cúcuta, 29th September 1821.

For his Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic,

PEDRO GUAL, Minister.

To be executed—JOSE MARIA DEL CASTILLO.

To be fulfilled, published, executed, and communicated to whom it may concern, recommending the transmission of the information required.

SOUBLETTE.

Caracas, 28th January 1822.

Shortly after, the annexed law, respecting the salaries and appointments to be given to the military and civil officers of the Government, was approved of and passed by the Congress.

The GENERAL CONGRESS of COLOMBIA, considering, That in a newly created Republic—in one which still struggles for its independence—the appointments, both military and civil, ought to be so proportioned as at once to unite economy with a decent and easy subsistence for the servants of the country, have decreed, and do decree as follows:—

Article 1. The salaries fixed by the Congress of Venezuela, in their decree of the 19th January 1820, shall remain in force until the 31st December next, and the part decreed by the Government shall continue to be paid in cash. What may remain due of the said salaries, shall form part of the national debt, to be provided for in the manner resolved upon by the Congress in the law concerning military salaries.

Article 2. From the 1st January 1822 the following salaries shall be enjoyed by public functionaries.

I.—LEGISLATIVE POWER.

Each Senator and Representative shall enjoy daily, during the whole period of the sessions, nine pesos. For each Colombian league of road which the representatives and senators may travel from the provinces of their respective abodes to the place of meeting of the Congress, one peso and a half shall be allowed them.

II.—EXECUTIVE POWER.

The President and Vice-President of the Republic shall enjoy the salaries assigned to them by the law of the 7th September last, to be paid to them free from any deduction whatever.

Each of the secretaries of state shall receive 6000 pesos annually, and the principal clerks to the secretaries 1800 pesos each.

The executive power shall establish in each of the secretary's departments, the necessary number of clerks and writers, assigning them corresponding salaries, to be charged upon the public treasury; and at their next meeting, the Congress will give or refuse their approbation.

III.—GOVERNMENT OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

The annual salary of intendants shall be . 6000 pesos.

Of the assessors to intendants, ... 2000

And the fees of office.

Of the secretaries to intendants, . . . 1200

The executive power shall, for the present, fix the salaries, and number of the subalterns in the secretary departments of the intendencies, and in the governments of the provinces; and upon this subject the Congress will deliberate at their reunion, conformably to the 11th article of the law concerning the political organization of the different branches of the Republic.

IV.—GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES.

The governors of Santa Martha, Carthagena, Antioquia, Choco, Socorro, Varinas, and Guayana, shall receive annually 4000 pesos each.

Those of Mariquita, Neyva, Pamplona, Merido, Truxillo, and Coro, 3000 pesos each.

Those of Barcelona, Margarita, Casanare, and Rio Hacha, 2000 pesos.

The assessors of governors receiving 4000 pesos, shall have 1500 pesos; of governors receiving 3000 pesos, 1200 pesos; and 800 pesos, those attached to governors receiving 2000 pesos; and every assessor shall receive the fees of office.

The secretaries of governors receiving 4000 pesos, shall be allowed 900 pesos annually; of governors receiving 3000, 700 pesos; and of governors receiving 2000 pesos, 500 pesos; uniting, wherever possible, the office of secretary and notary.

V.—TREASURY.

The treasurer-president shall have . 2600 pesos annually.
Each treasurer-general, ... 2400

The other subalterns and clerks shall have such salaries as the executive power may assign to them, conformable to the power vested in it for the organization of their department.

VI.—JUDICIAL POWER.

Each member of the high court of justice shall receive annually, ... 4000 pesos.

Each member of the superior court of justice, 3600 pesos.

The respective courts of justice shall consult with the executive power upon the salaries and fees to be enjoyed by the reporters, secretaries, and other subalterns of their several tribunals; and the decision of the executive thereon shall be acted upon, until the Congress approve or alter the same.

VII.—MILITARY PAY.

	Pesos.		Pesos.
General-in-chief, per month,	500	Surgeon, ...	50
General of Division, . .	400	Chaplain, ...	40
General of Brigade, . .	300	Sergeant, 1st, . . .	18
Colonel, ...	200	——— 2d, . . .	15
Lieutenant-colonel, . .	150	Drum-major, . . .	18
Major, ...	100	Corporal, 1st, . . .	12
Captain, ...	70	——— 2d, . . .	11
Lieutenant, ...	40	Drummer, ...	11
Ensign, ...	30	Private, ...	10

Article 3. The Executive Government shall assign pay to the auditors of war, commissaries, and others employed upon the military list, who may not have been mentioned in the foregoing enumeration. The said assignments shall be carried into effect, and shall be considered in the next congress.

Article 4. The salaries and appointments to the ministers, consuls, and agents, who may be sent to foreign nations, shall be assigned in the same manner.

Article 5. The same executive power shall fix the salaries of those employed in the civil administration of finance, and their number, as well as that of the subalterns who may be required in each of the different administrations and treasuries. It may also suppress unnecessary offices, and establish new ones in their place, wherever expedient, drawing out a list of all the offices and officers of the public treasury, to be presented to the Congress, at the next meeting, for approbation or correction.

Article 6. The Supreme Government shall likewise nominate governors to the provinces which may be recovered from the enemy, placing each in the class which may best agree with the importance, population, and wealth of the province.

Article 7. During the war of independence, and for two years after, two-thirds of the pay, in cash, shall only be issued to all civil and military functionaries; provided that scarcity of funds, or other particular and extraordinary circumstances,

do not oblige the Government still further to diminish the quota of payment for the time being; always taking care that the quota be diminished equally for all the servants of the country.

8. Article Military, when in the field, shall not be subject to the discount of the direct contribution, from which, under such circumstances, they are exempted.

Article 9. From the discount ordered to be made by the 7th article in the salaries of public functionaries, shall be received the duty of " media annata," according to law; but no judge, or person employed, who does not receive pay from the public treasury, shall in future pay the " media annata."

Article 10. A national establishment for receiving pledges (*monte pio*), similar to that which existed under the Spanish Government, shall be formed by the executive, from another part of the discount to be made on the military and civil functionaries receiving annuities; and the plan of the establishment shall be laid before the next Congress, for their approbation or correction.

Article 11. The remainder of the discount of the third part of the salaries shall be recognized as a national debt, for the general benefit of all the servants of the country, subject to the regulations prescribed by the Congress.. In the mean while the proper account shall be kept in the respective offices; and the chiefs of the said offices shall, at the end of each year, give a certificate to the party interested, showing the amount that has been deducted from his salary in that year, in order that in due time he may make good his claims upon the State.

Article 12. No public functionary shall enjoy two salaries paid from the public treasury: where it happens that a person obtains at the same time two or more employments, he shall receive the greater salary.

Let the present be communicated to the executive for its performance.

Given in the Palace of the General Congress of Colombia, in the city of Rosario de Cúcuta, on the 8th October 1821,—11th year of independence.

The President of Congress, JOSE Y. DE MARQUEZ.
The Deputy Secretary, MIGUEL SANTA MARIA.
The Deputy Secretary, FRANCISCO SOTO.

Palace of the Government at Rosario de Cúcuta, 10th October 1822. Let it be executed,

FRANCISCO P. SANTANDER.

For his Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic,
The Minister, P. GUAL, Secretary of Finance.

A true copy.

As the elections of Senators were to be made by the Congress on this first occasion, according to the constitution, they were effected in the sittings of the 8th, 9th, and 10th of the present month (October); and the following gentlemen were duly elected Senators:—

For the Department of the Orinoco.

Messrs General Santiago Mariño.
Ferdinand Peñalver.
Eusebio Afanador.
General of Brigade Antonio Sucre.

For the Department of Venezuela.

General José Antonio Paez.
Dr Ramon Ignacio Mendez, (Ecles.)
Martin Tobar.
Colonel Judas Peñango.

For the Department of Sulia.

General Rafael Urdaneta.
The illustrious Bishop of Merida, Rafael Laso.
Dr Ant. Maria Brizeño, (Ecles.)
Luis Baralt.

For the Department of Boyaca.

Nicolas Cuervo, Vicar-General to the Archbishopric of Bogota.
Francisco Cuevas.
Francisco Soto.
Antonio Malo.

For the Department of Cundinamarca.

General Antonio Nariño.
Colonel Luis Riense.
Estanislao Virgara.
Miguel Uribe.

For the Department of Magdalena.

José Maria del Real.
Dr Manuel Benito Rebollo, (Ecles.)
Colonel José Francisco Munive.
Remigio Marquez.

For the Department of Cauca.

Geronimo Torres.
Agustin Baroana.
Joaquin Mosquera.
Vicente Lucio Cabal.

About the same period, the Congress, conceiving it advisable to remove the place of its session from Rosario de Cúcuta, where its sittings had been previously held, to Bogota, passed the following decree, in which they explain their motives for so doing:—

DECREE ON THE PROVISIONAL SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

The General Congress of Colombia, considering,—

1*st*, That having, by the fundamental law of the union, reserved for happier days to raise the city of Bolivar, which

ought to be the capital of the Republic, it is necessary to appoint the place in which Government shall at present reside, according to the 21st paragraph of the 55th art. of the Constitution.

2d, That the most central one ought to be chosen, in order that the communications with the territories placed at the extremities of the Republic be less difficult, and the correspondence with the cities in the interior of the Republic, scattered over so extensive a country, with roads and mountains almost impassable, may be more frequent, safer, and expeditious.

3d, That besides consulting these advantages, it is also necessary to attend to the goodness of the climate, the number of buildings, the abundance and resources for all the branches of the administration, and to other social comforts.

4th, That none is more proper than the city of Bogota, which unites all these advantages,—situate in the heart of the Republic, and having two navigable rivers, one to the east, and the other to the west, which must of course procure it the facility of communicating with the coasts and the departments of ancient Venezuela.

5th, That the necessity of carrying war to the oppressors of unhappy Quito, claims at present the proximity of, and every attention from Government, towards that interesting part of Colombia. They have therefore decreed, and decree as follows:—

Art. 1. The city of Bogota shall be the residence of the Supreme Government of the Republic, until the Congress, impelled by other circumstances, should appoint any other place.

Art. 2. The executive power shall make the necessary arrangements for the execution of this decree, preparing all the buildings, effects, &c. which shall be wanted for the meeting and dispatch of the affairs of the senate and representatives of the people, for those of the executive power and secretary's offices, for those of the high court of justice, and other tribunals and offices established by the laws, which ought to reside in the capital.

Let this be communicated for its due execution.

Given in the Palace of the Congress of Colombia in Rosario de Cúcuta, the 8th October 1821.

The President of the Congress,
J. I. de Marquez, &c. &c.

Bolivar, by a decree bearing date 9th October, authorized Santander to exercise the functions of the executive power during his absence with the army. Previous to his departure, he published a proclamation to the inhabitants of Colombia, in which he expatiated on the excellence of the constitution which he then presented to them, and the prosperity they were likely to enjoy under the administration of the Vice-President.

On the 14th October, the Congress closed its labours. At the last sitting before its prorogation, they unanimously voted their thanks to Lord Holland, to the Abbé de Pradt, formerly archbishop of Mechline, to Henry Clay, formerly speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, to Colonel William Duane, editor of the Aurora of Philadelphia, to Mr Marryatt and Sir Robert Wilson, members of the British House of Commons, for the strenuous exertions they had made to promote the cause of independence.

At the close of the session, the Congress delivered the following address to their constituents, and the people at large:—

Colombians! This day the Congress terminates the august duties with which it was charged, and the members, your Representatives, retire to their respective homes, confident that they have accomplished the object of your wishes. You are now possessed of such a constitution as appeared best adapted to the condition of the country, and most calculated to insure to you your liberty and prosperity. The Republic has also been consolidated, by the integral and legitimate union of the territories of which it is now composed. The duties of the rulers have moreover been defined and circumscribed; your rights are now placed under the most solemn guarantees for their security.

The territory is divided into departments, and these have received the necessary organization in all the branches of government. Courts of justice have been established to settle your personal differences and to punish delinquents; and, with a view to the common benefit and protection of the citizens, tribunals have been established in every province for causes of lesser importance. The administration of justice influences, in a great measure, the safety of the citizen, it has therefore deserved the particular consideration of Congress.

Ignorance was the basis on which the Government of Spain built its power, as being the only condition that could uphold slavery; but a Republic like ours can alone be maintained by the united virtues and knowledge of its citizens. In order, therefore, to advance this great object, Congress has determined to establish schools, houses of education, colleges, and universities, and has further appropriated the property of suppressed religious establishments to its accomplishment.

Nor has the condition of that unhappy portion of men who bore the mark of slavery among you, been overlooked. In decreeing, however, the abolition of slavery, in proscribing for ever this barbarous custom, Congress has not acted unjustly to innocent proprietors; it has paid the homage due to reason, without being deaf to the claims of property sanctioned by good faith.

The public revenue, greatly decreased by the calamities of a disastrous war, is re-established by economical and salutary

laws; regulations having been adopted, which, whilst they increase the revenue, will, at the same time, diminish the burdens that oppressed the people. No longer shall you pay the duties of alcabala on the alimentary produce of your industry; the import duties have been lessened as much as possible, and those on exports have also been considerably reduced.

The distilling of spirituous liquors is free, and this exemption, which removes such heavy vexations from the public, must hereafter prove a fruitful source of riches and prosperity. By the revenue laws now in force, you will be enabled to contribute to the wants of the state on a small and equal scale, whilst, at the same time, you gain your own livelihood with ease. As, however, the Government is still compelled to incur increased and unavoidable expenses, Congress has decreed a direct contribution, proportioned to the means of the contributors, equally payable by all, and which shall be collected without any additional expense.

Such have been the labours of your Representatives. They trust they have fulfilled your intentions: on you, therefore, depends what is still wanting to consolidate Colombia, and raise her to the high rank of strength and prosperity to which she is destined. Live in intimate and brotherly union; befriend each other, and admit not into your hearts either jealousy or rivalship. These are the fatal arms your enemies have unceasingly wielded, in order to spread discord among you. Union will make you strong, and put an end to a cruel war of eleven years' duration. Dissension will deprive you of repose, and of the genuine benefits to be derived from society. United, you are invincible—disunion is the only enemy you have to fear.

Obey, therefore, those laws you yourselves have framed, for they were dictated by your Representatives; and duly respect those magistrates elected by your own suffrages. Think of the glory that will be rendered to Colombia, if your happiness and welfare are secured. Remember, that nothing at its commencement is perfect, and that the influence of time and experience is powerful. Law is the boundary of freedom,

and this disappears when the laws become nerveless. A free press, that precious gift inseparable from justice and civil liberty, is the proper medium for fixing the opinions and expressing the sentiments of a free people. Use it with that moderation which is prescribed by the laws, and thus will you preserve your own rights unimpaired. You will restrain your rulers within the limits of their authority, and you will acquire the improvements suggested by experience and necessity.

Your Representatives will acquaint you with the motives by which they have been influenced in what they have done; they will explain what you do not understand, and make known to you the causes of their decisions. They will act so as to merit your confidence; and their candour and good faith will tranquillize you.

Disregard, then, the clamours of ignorance and fanaticism. These weapons aim at your disunion: they would bring you back to dependence and slavery, and promote your debasement and oppression. To these the efforts of your enemies still tend. Possibly they will tell you that Congress has sought to disseminate impious and irreligious maxims, but know that they have merely sought to free religion from the abuses under which it laboured, without touching its essential points. The God of these instigators is interest, and their religion is reduced to the idolatrous worship of their own prejudices. Judge the Congress by their works, compare those with your own wishes and wants, and then conclude for yourselves. He who seeks to disunite you, is your enemy, and you should repel him as a disturber of the public peace.

Congress has been actuated by no other than the anxious wish of rendering you happy. To do this, it adopted those very principles which you yourselves long ago promulgated, and which have uniformly constituted the happiness of other nations. Possibly it may not have accomplished all that could be wished; but it can assure you, it has done all that was in its power. Your welfare was its only object, and this satisfaction is the only recompense it expects.

Done in the General Congress of the Republic of Colombia, in the town of Rosario de Cúcuta, this 14th day of October 1821.

By the President of the Congress,
JOSE IGNACIO DE MARQUEZ.
By the Ministers and Secretaries,
MIGUEL SANTA MARIA.
FRANCISCO SOTO.

The Republic of Colombia received two important accessions of strength about this time. Guayaquil, by a decree published a short time before, placed itself under the protection of the Republic; and Cumana, after having so long held out, surrendered to General Bermudez, on the 15th of October. The garrison, consisting of 1500 men, was shipped off to Puerto Rico.

An expedition was preparing at Carthagena against Panama, in which the English troops were to be principally employed; when fortunately it was rendered useless, by the whole of the Isthmus of Darien establishing its independence, which it effected in the following manner.—

General Cruz Murgeon, the governor of Panama, had embarked from thence, in combination with the Spanish functionaries at Quito, to attack Guayaquil. The inhabitants of the vicinity of the city of Panama availed themselves of this opportunity to signify to the authorities, that they would not continue under the Spanish dominion. Colonel F. Fabrega, who was left governor *ad interim*, invited a meeting, on the 20th of November, of the principal persons, at which

it was decided, that each district should send a deputy, through whom their wishes should be expressed concerning the form of government to be established. But the intention was not realized, the inhabitants of Panama spontaneously causing their independence to be declared on the 28th. At Porto Bello, independence was proclaimed on the 5th of December.

Morales, who was now commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces, La Torre having been appointed governor of Puerto Rico, set sail for Curaçoa, in order to raise 50,000 dollars for the continuance of the war. This he was unable to effect to the amount intended; and was obliged to leave that place some time after, with not more than one-third of the sum in his possession. On his return to Puerto Cabello, he marched at the head of a body of troops, and took possession of Coro.

On the side of Quito, nothing materially to the advantage of the Colombian arms had taken place. Sucré, who commanded in that quarter, had concluded a capitulation in the latter part of the last year with Aymerich, the royalist general, which it was supposed would have terminated in a capitulation; but hostilities recommenced on the 22d of February 1822.

The Maracaibo troops, amounting to about a thousand men, and the Irish legion, 250 strong, under the command of Major Ferrier, crossed the Gulf of Alta Gracia, in the month of March, to proceed against Coro. Some skirmishing took

place with the guerillas, a small body of whom deserted to Alta Gracia.

The expedition, however, totally failed in its object: they were defeated, and obliged to retreat upon the last mentioned place. Morales, at the head of 3000 men, hotly pursued them, and advanced to within twenty miles of Maracaibo. Luiz Clementi, the governor, immediately issued a proclamation, calling upon all the male population to arm without delay in defence of the city. Troops poured in on all sides; and every disposition was manifested on the part of the inhabitants, to give the enemy a warm reception, should he attempt any attack upon the city.

The blockade of Puerto Cabello still continued. By two bulletins, issued the 19th and 23d of April, by the patriot General Paez, it appeared that their operations for the reduction of the fortress were actively carrying on. These were rendered in a great degree ineffectual, by the inadequacy of their naval force to prevent supplies being thrown into the place. The frigate Ligera passed and repassed from Curaçoa to the Main without the least difficulty or danger, in spite of the blockading force stationed by the Republic off the port. The Colombian navy has indeed been constantly ill managed; and until it be placed upon a more respectable footing, the final subjection of Puerto Cabello to the independents will be tedious and uncertain.

On the 22d of April, Morales, who still kept possession of the town of Alta Gracia, succeeded

in landing 500 men below the town of Maracaibo, and on the following night 400 above it. On the 24th these last were attacked by the Creole regiment of Tiradores, who entirely defeated them. The greater part were killed; and the rest surrendered at discretion. The other division, under the command of Morillito, hearing of the failure of their plan, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and were marched to Maracaibo. Thence they were shortly after shipped to Jamaica.

Bolivar, who had proceeded at the head of a large army against Quito, by the side of Pasto, met with the Spanish General Murgeon on the heights of Curiaco.

An engagement ensued, which was maintained on both sides with great obstinacy. Victory at last decided for the patriots; and the Spaniards were obliged to retire from the field, leaving a great number of prisoners, and the principal part of their ammunition and stores, in the hands of the Colombians. Murgeon was severely wounded, and died two days after. This battle took place on the 7th of April.

These were not the only successes that attended the Colombian arms during this month.—General Sucré, who commanded the army destined to operate against Quito on the side of Guayaquil, having attacked and defeated a body of troops who made some show of resistance, entered and took possession of the important town of Riobamba, situate about a hundred miles to the south of Quito.

In the following month, the military vigio, or watch-tower, called Mirador de Solano, which commands the town of Puerto Cabello, surrendered by capitulation to General Paez; and the garrison was conveyed, according to agreement, to Puerto Rico.

In consequence of a battle which took place between the contending parties at Pichincha, situate a few leagues to the north of Quito, in which the royalists were completely defeated after an obstinate struggle, proposals for a capitulation were made by the latter, which were acceded to by the independent general.

BATTLE OF PICHINCHA.

Head-quarters, Quito, May 28. 1822.

Senor,—After the advantages obtained by our grenadiers and dragoons over the whole cavalry of the enemy at Riobamba, nothing of consequence has occurred. The different corps of the division were put in motion on the 8th ult., and they arrived at Tagunea on the 20th. The Spaniards were posted in the town of Machaci, and commanded the inaccessible passes of Jalupana and La Vindita. It was necessary to avoid them by marching on their left flank; and moving on the 13th, we arrived on the 16th in the valley of Chilloe, four leagues from the capital, having crossed the frozen summits of the mountains of Cotopaxi, and slept on them. The enemy became aware of our movements, and he occupied Quito the same night.

The steep ridge of Puengasi, which divides the valley of Chilloe from this city, is difficult of access, but we succeeded in eluding the enemy, and passed the ridge on the 20th. On the 21st we descended to the plains of Tambamba, a common belonging to Quito, and offered battle. We expected the

Spaniards would engage, from having the advantage of the ground; but they remained in their impenetrable positions, and the division was obliged, after some manœuvring, to take up a position in the town of Chilloe Gallo, a mile distant from the enemy.

During the 22d and 23d we endeavoured to provoke them to a battle, and being unable to succeed, I resolved to march at night and encamp on the common to the north of the city, where the ground is more favourable, and which would place us between Quito and Pasto. I accordingly dispatched Colonel Cordova with two companies of the battalion of Magdalena. A miserable road retarded our march, but at eight o'clock in the morning we arrived on the heights of Pichincha, which command Quito, leaving far in the rear our artillery, protected by the Albion battalion. The company of Cazadores of Paya was sent to reconnoitre the passes while the troops rested themselves. It was soon followed by the battalion of Truxillo (of Peru), commanded by Colonel Santa Cruz, commandant-general of the division of Peru. At half past nine, the Cazadores fell in with the whole of the Spanish division, which was marching on our right towards the position we held. The Cazadores kept up a fire as long as their ammunition lasted, but the battalion of Truxillo came up opportunely, and took part in the combat. Immediately after, the two companies of Yaguachi, commanded by Colonel Morales in person, joined them. All the rest of our infantry, under the orders of General Mina, followed, excepting the two companies of Magdalena, with which Colonel Cordova marched to take up a position in the enemy's rear; but finding himself unable to accomplish this, he was compelled to return. The battalion of Paya was in readiness, when the want of ammunition obliged the other two corps, after bravely sustaining the enemy's fire, to retreat. The enemy advanced a little, and as the ground hardly permitted more than one battalion at a time to be engaged, the Cazadores were ordered to charge bayonets and advance. The charge was executed in a brilliant style, and the enemy lost the advantage he had gained. The firing was renewed,

and only the situation of the ground enabled the enemy to hold out. He detached three companies of the regiment of Arragon to attack us on the left flank; and, favoured by the thickness of the wood, they had already reached the heights, when the three Albion companies, which had been left in the rear with the artillery, encountered them, and with that gallantry which has invariably distinguished this corps, they completely routed the Arragonians. In the meanwhile, Colonel Cordova was ordered to assist the Cazadores with the two companies of Magdalena. This chief, whose intrepidity is well known, made an admirable charge; the enemy was thrown into disorder, and soon routed. At noon the soldiers of liberty were crowned with victory. Aided by the Cazadores of Paya, one company of Yaguachi, and the three Albion companies, Colonel Cordova pursued the Spaniards to the gates of the capital, and obliged the remainder of them to take refuge in the fort of Panecillo.

With a view to spare the further effusion of blood, which the storming of the fort and the defence that the city might make would occasion, I dispatched my aide-de-camp, O'Leary, to General Aymerich, with a verbal message to surrender; and in the meanwhile I marched forward with the main body, and occupied the suburbs, having first dispatched Colonel Ibarro (who had accompanied the infantry during the battle,) with the cavalry, to pursue that of the enemy, which I observed directing itself towards Pasto. General Aymerich proposed terms of capitulation, which were agreed to and ratified the day following.

The results of the battle of Pichincha are, the occupation of this city and its fortifications on the evening of the 25th, the possession and tranquillization of the whole department, and the capture of 1100 men, 160 officers, 14 pieces of artillery, 1700 muskets, all their ammunition, standards, chests, and military stores: 400 of the enemy, and 200 of ours, lay dead on the field; we have 190 wounded prisoners, and 140 of our men wounded. Among the killed are—Lieutenant Mollins and the Sub-Lieutenant Mendoza; and among the wounded—

Captains Cabal, Castro, and Alsuro; Lieutenants Calderon and Ramirez, and Sub-Lieutenants Barrero and Ardugo.

The troops have all done their duty. Chiefs, officers, and privates, emulated each other in the glory of the triumph. The bulletin which will be delivered to you, makes mention of those chiefs and subaltern officers who have distinguished themselves, and I shall consider it my duty to recommend them to the consideration of the Government. The conduct of Lieutenant Calderon deserves to be particularly mentioned. He received four wounds consecutively, but refused to the last to retire from the field. They will, I fear, prove mortal; but the Government will not fail to compensate to his family the services of this heroic officer.

The Spanish cavalry is dispersed, and pursued by the corps under the Commandant Cestari, whom I had previously posted between Quito and Pasto. On the 26th Commissioners from both Governments set out for Pasto, to announce the surrender of Quito, the terms of which I expect will be ratified by the Liberator. Other officers are marching in the direction of Esmeraldas and Barbacoas; and in a short time the inhabitants of these countries will enjoy repose and peace, as the first good effects of the liberty and independence bestowed on them by the Republic.

The division of the south has dedicated its trophies and its laurels to the Liberator of Colombia.

God preserve your Lordship many years.

(Signed) A. J. de Sucre.

To his Excellency the President.

Capitulation of Quito.

The fortune of war rendering it necessary for us to seek means of conciliation for the interest of the Spanish army, from the occupation of this city and province by the divisions of Colombia and Peru, under the command of General Sucré, after the victory obtained by him on the heights of Pichincha, on which occasion the two armies fought with that enthusiasm which characterizes them; and considering the want of regular

communication with the Peninsula, public opinion in this country, and the want of resources to continue the struggle; also in conformity with the instructions given to his Excellency General Murgeon by the minister of war, of the date of the 3d of April 1822, the chiefs of the two armies have determined to compromise differences, and have named for this purpose—General Sucré, Colonels Don Andres de Santa Cruz, commander of the Peruvian troops, and Don Antonio Morales, Chief of the Staff of the Colombian forces;—and his Excellency General Don Melchior Aymerich, Colonels Don Francisco Gonzales, Don Manuel Maria Martinez de Aparicio, Adjutant-General and chief of the Spanish division, and Don Patricio Bryan, Adjutant of the same corps, whose powers being severally recognized, they have agreed upon the following stipulations:—

Article 1. The fortress of Panecillo (Quito), and all the territory to the north and south of that city, which was subject to the Spanish authority, together with all the stores, provisions, and ammunition, shall be delivered up to commissioners appointed by General Sucré.

Article 2. The Spanish troops shall march out of the fortress with the honours of war; and at the time and place to be appointed by General Sucré, they will surrender their arms, colours, and ammunition: and in consideration of their gallant conduct in the engagement of yesterday, and also in conformity with any particular agreements that may be made on this point, it shall be permitted to all the officers, Europeans as well as Americans, to return to Europe or elsewhere. The troops also shall have the same permission. Those officers who choose to remain shall either be admitted into the army, or considered private citizens.

Article 3. The officers shall retain their arms, equipages, and horses.

Article 4. The officers who wish to return to Europe, shall be conducted, at the expense of the Colombian Government, as far as the Havannah, by way of Guayaquil and Panama, under an escort, to the point of embarkation; and at the first Spanish port where they may arrive shall be paid, to the com-

missioner appointed to conduct them, the amount of the expenses they shall occasion to him.

Article 5. General Aymerich is at liberty to go when and wherever he pleases with his family, and he shall receive every attention and respect due to his rank and character.

Article 6. A general amnesty is granted with respect to opinions; and all persons holding public employments, whether ecclesiastical or secular, who may wish to return to Europe, shall have passports granted to them; but they must go at their own expense.

Article 7. As in Article 1. all the troops at Pasto, and in that direction, are comprehended in this capitulation. Two officers shall be appointed on each side to conduct hither those troops, and to take possession of the stores, ammunition, prisoners, &c.; but as, in the present state of that part of the country, the Spanish Government cannot undertake to guarantee the fulfilment of this article, the Colombian Government will in this case act according to the best of its judgment.

Article 8. After the ratification of this treaty on both sides, General Sucré may occupy the city and fortress on the day and hour he shall appoint.—The above mentioned commissioners have signed these articles previous to their ratification by the contracting parties, in the palace of the Government of Quito, and on the date above mentioned.

Andres de Santa Cruz, Antonio Morales; Francisco Gonzales, Manuel Maria Martinez de Aparicio, Patricio Bryan.

The officers and troops taken prisoners shall swear not to bear arms against the independent states of Colombia and Peru.

Santa Cruz, Morales, Gonzales, Aparicio, Bryan.

Head-quarters at Quito, May 25. 1822.

Ratified and approved by me, and to be complied with faithfully and scrupulously by me in all particulars,

MELCHIOR AYMERICH.

Approved and ratified,

ANTONIO JOSE DE SUCRE.

Head-quarters, Quito, May 26. 1822.

By this convention the patriots became possessed of the whole territory of Quito, with all the magazines, stores, ammunition, &c. The greater part of the Spanish troops joined the independent forces; and the rest, by the 4th article of the treaty, were incapacitated from serving against the Republic.

In the mean time, Bolivar, who in addition to the hostile disposition which the inhabitants of the province of Pasto had constantly evinced to the cause of independence, had to combat the almost insurmountable obstacles which the rugged and mountainous nature of the country presented to him, prosecuted his march with his wonted activity and perseverance. After incredible labour and fatigue, he made his appearance before the city of Pasto towards the latter end of May; and soon after his arrival, to his inexpressible gratification and surprise, proposals for surrender were made by the Spanish commandant, which, after some trifling alterations, were agreed to on the part of Bolivar. The letter of Perez, the secretary-general to Bolivar, to the secretary at war, giving an account of the operations previous to its surrender, will show the importance in which this acquisition was held by the President of Colombia.

Secretary-General's Office, Head-quarters, Pasto,
To the Secretary at War, *8th June* 1822.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency of the glorious result of the campaign of the south, which the Colombian arms have liberated, from Popayan to the Peruvian

boundaries. Two splendid battles have decided the fate of these beautiful provinces, that city being the last surrendering itself to its liberators. Your Excellency will be acquainted with the notification made by his Excellency the Liberator to the defenders of Pasto. The commander-in-chief of the Spanish division agreed on the 28th ult., assuring his Excellency of his readiness to enter into the capitulation which had been proposed to him; and in consequence he consulted the chiefs of his division, and the municipality of that city, who were decided on capitulating with the liberating army; but the people, tenaciously adhering to the royal cause, resisted all insinuation, and the Spanish chief found himself necessitated to solicit the aid of the bishop of Popayan, who was at the time absent from the city. In effect, that prelate succeeded in overcoming the obstinacy of the people; and on the 30th Lieutenant-Colonels Fierro and Retamal departed for head-quarters; but their progress was retarded by inevitable and casual accidents, and by countermarches, occasioned by being misled. His Excellency was preparing the entry of Juanambu by the formidable breach, when the commissioners presented themselves with their credentials to treat of the capitulation, which I have the pleasure of enclosing. His Excellency, without waiting the ratification, continued his march with a column of Cazadores; and to-day, at four o'clock P. M., entered this city, amidst the acclamations and cheers of the chiefs and nobility of the city. The most illustrious bishop went out to meet him under his pall, and afterwards a solemn Te Deum was sung. The garrison of this city, and all the troops under the commandant-in-chief of the 2d Spanish division, have already surrendered to the Colombian army, or have received orders to do so. By this capitulation the Republic of Colombia has acquired 2000 veterans, who heretofore defended the royal flag in the most formidable positions, adapted by nature to the purposes of war—positions which would have withstood any force produced by the brave Colombians. His Excellency considers the capitulation of Pasto as the most important military event of the campaign, and has said it is preferable to ten victories obtained on this chain of rocks. But what has heightened the joy of the Colombian arms, is the victory ob-

tained near the volcano of Pichincha over the city of Quito. On the 24th ult. the division under General Sucré, which had occupied for three days previously the vicinity of Quito, gave general engagement to the enemy, climbing over inaccessible eminences, among woods which prevented all communication. Three hours were sufficient to decide the fate of that important city. The enemy retreated with his infantry to Panecillo, where he capitulated on the 25th, as your Excellency will observe by the annexed copy. General Sucré immediately occupied the city of Quito. By the victory of Pichincha, and by the capitulation, General Sucré has taken above 1000 prisoners, including chiefs, officers, and privates, 14 pieces of artillery, 1300 muskets, and the magazines of the city. I cannot detail to your Excellency the particulars of the movements of General Sucré's division, as circumstantial accounts have not yet been received, and I am ordered by his Excellency to lose no time in acquainting the Government with such important events. As soon as we have received further intelligence from General Sucré, and the orders which are to be taken for the military exercise which are giving to the Colombian forces by the commandant-in-chief, D. Basilio Garcia, the secretary of war shall be informed of all. In the interim his Excellency has directed me to transmit to the Government the sentiments of joy which he feels on the occasion of seeing so happy a termination of the Colombian war. The battles of Bombona and Pichincha being the most glorious theatres of the Sur, and the capitulations of Pasto and Quito the most beneficial successes, the Republic should congratulate itself on having conquered its enemies in battle, and having shewn the greatest generosity to them in their treaties. The inhabitants of the Sur have now become of the glorious family of Colombia; and doubtless the liberators will be the idols to whom they will offer their sacrifices. His Excellency the Liberator flatters himself, that the inhabitants of the Sur will emulate with us in gratitude, as we in generosity with their oppressors. God preserve your Excellency many years.

(Signed) J. G. Perez,

Secretary-General of his Excellency.

The following are the terms of the capitulation:—

Lieutenant-colonels Don Pantaleon de Fierro and Don Miguel Retamal, commissioned by the commandant-general of the second Spanish division of the Sur, Colonel Don Basilio Garcia, presented the following articles of capitulation to his Excellency the Liberator and President of Colombia, who appointed Colonel José Gabriel Perez, and Lieutenant-colonel Vicente Gonzales, to conclude this convention.

PROPOSITIONS.

Article 1. No individual under the commandant-general of the 2d Spanish division of the Sur shall be persecuted, neither any one lately of the Colombian army, including the troops and citizens of the provinces under the same command, the territories of which extend from Tulcan to Popayan, and the coasts of Barbacoas. The individuals of the secular and regular clergy shall remain exempt from all charge and responsibility.

Granted, without any restriction.

Article 2. The Spanish officers and soldiers, and others of the country, shall not be obliged to take arms in Colombia against their inclinations; not being first invited and warned.

Granted.—This article to be understood only with respect to the Spanish soldiers and those of Pasto.

Article 3. The Spanish officers and troops who are desirous of being transported to the first port of Spain, shall be furnished with vessels, paying the costs, or as best may suit.

Granted.—If the Spanish officers and troops be taken directly to Spain, the Spanish Government shall advance the charges; but if taken to the Spanish ports of America, or to neutral ports of America, the Republic of Colombia will advance the costs.

Article 4. The Spanish officers and soldiers shall not be insulted by any person of the Republic of Colombia, but shall be respected and protected by the laws. The chiefs and officers (including emigrants) shall be permitted the use of their swords, equipages, and properties. If this be transgressed, the laws and country of Colombia shall aid them, observing the treaty of Truxillo.

Granted.

Article 5. Spaniards (military or civil) willing to swear allegiance to the Government of the Republic of Colombia, shall remain possessed of their employments and property: notwithstanding what is expressed in Article 1st, it shall be understood as including in it and in the others, the individuals concerned in the incursions (guerillas) of Palia, and those that may be within the line of the army of the Republic of Colombia, depending on the commandant-general of the 2d Spanish division of the Sur; and that those cannot be charged with offences, although of the greatest responsibility. And lastly, his Excellency the President, as a conqueror possessed of a noble soul, as he is, will use towards the prisoners of war, the citizens, or the inhabitants of Pasto and its jurisdiction, all the beneficence he can.

Granted.

Article 6. That as the persons and properties of the veteran troops and citizens of Pasto are guaranteed, those, and all living therein, although not natives thereof, cannot be at any time inlisted, but shall be considered as heretofore in the class of civilians, without being at liberty to quit their territory. That a passport be given to the emigrants, to enable them to retire to their families; and considering the poverty of Pasto, and the great distress which it has suffered during the war, it shall be exempt from all encumbrances.

Answer.—The citizens of Pasto, whether natives or transient, shall be treated as the most favoured Colombians, and shall have all the rights of citizens of the Republic: they shall at the same time bear the burdens of the State as other citizens. His Excellency will make known his benevolent intentions towards the inhabitants of Pasto, in a particular proclamation, which shall be binding, and considered as sacred.

The emigrants shall obtain their passports to retire to their families.

Article 7. That there shall not be the slightest alteration in any thing relating to the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion; and its ceremonies shall remain inviolate.

Granted.—The Republic of Colombia, glorying in being under the auspices of the sacred religion of Jesus, will never commit the absurd impiety of changing it.

Article 8. The territory under the commandant-general of the 2d Spanish division of the Sur, expressed in the first Article, remaining subject to the Republic of Colombia, the possessions of the citizens of Pasto, and of all the territory, shall be guaranteed, and in no time shall they be interfered with, but shall be preserved unhurt.

Granted.

Article 9. That in case his Excellency the Liberator and President should think fit to go to Pasto, it is hoped that he will act with his usual humanity and consideration towards it, considering the unfortunate state of the city.

Granted.—His Excellency the Liberator promises to treat the city of Pasto with the greatest benignity, and will not exact the slightest sacrifice for the service of the liberating army. The commissary-general will pay the real value for whatever is required for the continuance of the march through the territory of Pasto.

Article 10. That for as much as his Excellency the Liberator has been pleased to promise to Pasto, that it shall enjoy the same prerogatives as the capital of the Republic, he shall sanction the establishment of the mint, as it is at present.

Answer.—His Excellency the Liberator not being vested with the power of deciding in respect to the establishment of the mint and coining, which privilege belongs to the General Congress, the inhabitants of Pasto may solicit that favour directly from them, or by means of their deputies.

Article 11. That the person of the most illustrious Bishop of Popayan, and that of the other ecclesiastical strangers, be treated with the same prerogatives as are promised to all the citizens of Pasto, respecting their high dignities.

Granted.—The Government and people of Colombia have always respected with the profoundest veneration the most illustrious Bishop, and all the clergy of the nation, as being the ministers of the Most High, and the legislators of morality.

To which articles we have agreed in the names of our respective chiefs. This treaty shall be ratified within forty-eight hours by his Excellency the Liberator and President of Colombia, and for the Commandant-general of the second Spanish division of the Sur, signing two of one tenor, at the head-quarters, Berruecos, June 6. 1822, at six P. M.

(Signed) PANTALEON FIERRO, MIGUEL RETAMAL,
JOSE GABRIEL PEREZ, VICENTE GONZALES.

Head-quarters, Pasto, June 8. 1822.

I approve and ratify the present treaty, S. BOLIVAR.
For his Excellency the Liberator,
JOSE GABRIEL PEREZ.

Head-quarters, Division of Pasto, June 8. 1822.

I ratify and agree to the presents here contained,
BASILIO GARCIA.

The annexed Proclamation was issued by the Liberator upon his entry into Pasto.

COLOMBIANS!—Now all your delightful country is free. The victories of Bombona and Pichincha have completed the object of your heroism. From the banks of the Orinoco to the Andes of Peru, the liberating army, marching in triumph, has covered with its protecting arms the entire extent of Colombia. One place alone resists; but it must fall.

Colombians of the South!—The blood of your brethren has redeemed you from the horrors of war; it has opened to you an entrance to enjoy the most sacred rights of liberty and equality. The Colombian laws have consecrated the alliance of social prerogative with the rights of nature. The constitution of Colombia is the model of a representative, republican, and powerful government. A better will never be found among the political institutions of this world, where nothing

is perfect. Rejoice that you belong to a great family, which now reposes under the shadow of the laurels it has gained, and which has nothing more to desire than to see accelerated the march of time, to unfold the eternal principles of happiness that our laws contain.

Colombians!—Participate with me the flood of joy that inundates my heart, and erect in yours altars to the liberating army, which has given you glory, peace, and liberty.

S. BOLIVAR.

Head-quarters at Pasto, June 8. 1822,—12th year of the Republic.

On the 7th of this month, this rapid success of the Colombian arms was interrupted by a defeat which Colonel Penango, who commanded on the side of Coro, sustained from the Spanish troops under Morales. The colonel himself was taken prisoner, and his troops suffered severely. This victory, on the part of the royalists, was of very little detriment to the independents, as the Spaniards did not attempt any thing of consequence after it.

In the following month, Morales embarked himself and troops on board the Spanish frigate Ligera, brig of war Hercules, and nine transports, and sailed from Coro to Puerto Cabello, where he shortly after arrived. The exhausted state of the country about Coro, and the difficulty of procuring provisions, compelled him to adopt this measure.

On the 3d of August, this active and enterprising officer marched, at the head of 2000 men, from Puerto Cabello against Valencia and Cara-

cas. On the heights of Birgirama he was met by General Paez, who had retired there at the head of the greater part of his forces, on account of the unwholesomeness of the country near Puerto Cabello. An engagement ensued: Morales and his troops were completely routed, and few of them escaped.

On the 5th, a party of royalists, to the amount of 400, landed at Ocumare. They were met by a party of republican troops, and a severe action took place, which lasted for some hours, when the royalists, after losing about 200 men, surrendered to the victorious arms of Colombia.

Puerto Cabello is now the only place in the possession of the Spaniards, and by the last accounts, Bolivar, having happily terminated the war of the south, was proceeding to take upon himself the command of the army employed in the reduction of that important fortress. Its speedy surrender is the more confidently anticipated, from intelligence having been received of the accession of two ships of war to the Colombian naval force, and of their expectation of being shortly joined by some others.

In this contest, the South Americans must have shewn perseverance, constancy, and bravery, else they would never have beaten Morillo when he landed, in 1815 or 1816, with 10,000 veterans from the Peninsula, with all the fortresses in his possession, and the patriots literally holding nothing but the forests of the Orinoco.

The native troops have always fought without pay, and have often gone into battle with clubs in their hands against the bayonets of Morillo. When Morillo landed with his 10,000 men, Bolivar had not 1000 muskets in his whole army, and probably not 1000 dollars in his treasury.

All this cannot have been done without some of those qualities, which, in other countries at least, are allowed to dignify the human character, though the possession of them has been so sparingly allowed to the South Americans.

The Colombians have been continually assailed by all sorts of evil reports of themselves and their cause from the West India Islands. The reason is obvious: If they attained their independence, the indirect trade with the islands would be superseded by the direct intercourse with Great Britain.—In return probably for their hostility, the Colombian Government has decreed that *all goods* coming direct from Europe, shall pay less duty than goods coming from the West India Islands.

If, among some low-minded and ignorant persons in Colombia, there have been jealousies of foreign assistance, or jealousies of each other, are they the only people in the world in whom this passion is seen? Is a great revolution like this to be effected, without drawing forth occasionally many of those evil passions and infirmities which afflict human nature every-where, in a greater or less degree, according to the state of civilization it may have attained?

The friends of independence will rejoice at the prospect of a close being put to the sanguinary contest which has desolated these beautiful countries for so many years. The moderation and disinterested patriotism which the chiefs have constantly shewn, leaves them no room to dread that intestine division will mar the heroic deeds they have performed; and we have no doubt, that from the liberal spirit which actuates the Government, and the earnest desires they manifest to promote, by every means in their power, the welfare and prosperity of the people placed under their controul, their efforts will be crowned with complete success.

The following are the several branches of revenue in Colombia: viz.—

Import duties, from 5 to 25 per cent on the value of merchandise, established by decree of Congress.

Export duties, 10 per cent on all produce exported.

A duty of 15 dollars per head on all cattle and mules exported.

The monopoly of the sale of tobacco. All the tobacco grown in Colombia is obliged to be sold to the Government, who re-sell it at a regular profit of about 100 per cent.

An Alcabala duty of 8 per cent on the sale of all produce. This duty is paid by the agriculturist.

An Alcabala duty of 8 per cent on all merchandise sent from one town to another, for the purpose of being retailed.

A per-centage on the produce of the mines; but as they are not yet at work, or very partially so, this branch of revenue cannot at present be depended upon.

What these various branches of revenue may produce, it would be idle to attempt to estimate. Colombia having now a Representative Government, all these things will be periodically and clearly brought to the public eye.

THE following Report gives a favourable view of the political state of an important portion of Colombia.

The Commissioners of the Secretariat-General of the Department of Cundinamarca, present this Statement for the year 1820, to his Excellency the Vice-President of the same Department, General F. DE P. SANTANDER.

BY AUTHORITY.

STATEMENT OF THE WAR AND FINANCE DEPARTMENTS.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

WHEN excessive oppression has filled the measure of the oppressors' crimes, the virtues of the people who struggle for their freedom shine

forth. Man, freeing himself from his degraded state, becomes aware of his dignity and his powers, and discovers a feeling of courage in the secret recesses of his heart, which before he had not even imagined; he then makes a full sacrifice of all his property, and consecrates himself, without reservation, to the happiness of his country. The magistrate in whose hands the government of a people is placed under such circumstances, finds himself in the best attitude for securing its liberty, and for defending it against the tyrant who may pretend to bind it in its former chains. In this point of view, those who have once been inspired with the sacred flame, which, kept alive by nature, all the endeavours of despotism are impotent to stifle, will not be astonished at the exertions and sacrifices Cundinamarca has this year made to achieve her independence; they will strike a panic into those slaves, the instruments or vile idolaters of tyranny, with whom the degradation and annihilation of their being is one of the duties of social man. But yet the sacrifices and wishes of the people will be rendered useless, will be dissipated and disappear, if he who is charged with the public affairs, if he who rules and directs the machine of government, do not put into decided action, and make a proper use of the means to fulfil the utmost desires of the people, and to secure the proper execution of the undertaking. It will therefore, doubtless, be satisfac-

tory to your Excellency to present to the world a relation of the exertions that have been made by the provinces of Cundinamarca, and to render to them and the Government an account of the conduct and administration of your Excellency, of the operations that have been executed, and of the effects that have been produced by the sacrifices of the nation, and the prudent measures of your Excellency.

In less than four months, Bogota, Tunja, Socorro, Pamplona, Mariquita, Antioquia, Choco, Neyva, and Popayan, were freed from the agents of tyranny, who oppressed those provinces. Wherever a soldier of Boyaca appeared, liberty was restored; and as the sun dissipates the clouds, as his light diffuses itself over the globe, so did the conquerors infuse a new spirit into this extent of territory. The Government was, in the mean time, occupied in creating all. The elements of war required its fostering attention; manufactories of nitre and powder; the procuring of tin, lead, and copper; the formation of bodies of infantry and cavalry; regulations for their preservation and replacing; precautions against the disorder and misconduct of the troops that passed through the provinces; measures to communicate with the troops; measures of economy, and for the better collection of the public revenues; strong decrees against evil practices; the formation of a squadron on the Magdalena; the fortification of those points where it was required by circumstances;

the formation of bodies of militia ; the establishment of academies ; and all those measures of which an account was rendered in the statement of last year ;—such were the objects that occupied the attention of your Excellency in the last four months, the first of this new epoch.

The provinces, liberated by the divisions that had been detached from the liberating army, and had overwhelmed the enemy with fear and terror, were not sufficiently armed to protect their liberty, and to oppose those endeavours which despair would induce the enemy to make to subject them anew. The extraordinary activity of his Excellency the Liberator had raised two armies in a few days ; but the first had marched to the Apure under the command of Brigadier-general Soublette, and the second was sent to cover the northern part of Cundinamarca, which was threatened by General La Torre. More than 4000 recruits were assembled, and proceeded to Venezuela in different parties ; 700 were trained in this capital by the grenadier battalion of the guards, which speedily marched to reinforce the army of the north, armed with muskets repaired in this manufactory. The battalion of *Albion*, formed and organized at Tunja, had its full complement in January. The battalion of *Vargas* was organized at Socorro, with the body of veterans that left this capital, and a company that was stationed at Giron. A battalion was completed at Antioquia, by the time the commandant-general received

orders to form another. Two battalions occupied Cauca and Popayan. More than one strong body of cavalry was joined at Neyva by another of infantry; a battalion of the Alta-Magdalena was formed at Honda; the Governor of Choco received orders to raise a battalion, and the formation of a squadron of hussars proceeded with regularity in this capital: good horses were purchased and assembled for this body, and for the army of the north, for the purpose of saving the villages from being suddenly and forcibly deprived of their horses, which could not be otherwise than grievous to them.

This force would have been sufficient for the defence of the liberated provinces, if it had not been without arms. There was no abundance of any thing excepting side-arms, and resolution to sacrifice every thing to the public cause. Weakness was visible on every point; and *until the* arrival of the arms, for the purchase of which considerable sums had been forwarded, the provinces were exposed to the attacks of an active, enterprising, and obstinate invader. Popayan being evacuated by Calzada, in consequence of the repeated victories which the insufficiently armed assemblages of the patriots of Cauca gained over him, was occupied by the troops of the Republic on the 21st October. It was reported, previous to the month of January, that the enemy being reinforced by troops, money, and arms, which had been forwarded by the President of

Quito, and by those which he had collected under the protection of Bishop Ximenez, was returning towards Popayan, but no certain intelligence was received. At Antioquia, a company had punished the rash pride of the Ex-Governor Tobrá, who had invaded it on the side of Zaragoza. At Ocaña, a column of the enemy was organized to reinforce the division of General La Torre, or to threaten the province of Pamplona, on the side of Cacota; and at Mompox an expedition was formed against Honda. Such was the situation of the department; but a dense cloud was seen at a distance that obscured the horizon of the provinces, and which announced the storm that was gathering over Cundinamarca.

His Excellency the Liberator being occupied in the Congress of Venezuela, among other things, with the formation of the Republic of Colombia, was at a great distance from these provinces. The army of the north, which had lost Brigadier-general Anzuategui, had not been able to obtain any victory over the division of La Torre, (which carefully avoided any rencounter or battle), and had scarcely occupied the villages of La Grita and Bayladores in the beginning of January, thus obliging La Torre to fall back upon Merida. The enemy being driven back, Colonel Salon, who commanded our army, dispatched 600 men across the mountain of San Camilo to the army of the Apure; and the strength of the army of the north could not be

any further diminished without exposing that frontier, or, if La Torre should bear down upon it, of running the risk of being beaten or of being obliged to evacuate the country, and thus abandoning those places to the enemy whose liberation had cost so dear.

It was under these circumstances that Cundinamarca saw itself attacked in six different directions. One part of the column of Ocaña invaded the province of Pamplona, and advanced to Cácota de Suratá; 700 men in 11 vessels of war attacked the province of Marguirita in the direction of Angostura de Nare; 500 men under the command of Warleta threatened Antioquia, and flattered themselves with the hope of reconquering that rich province; a flotilla had penetrated into the Atrato for the purpose of taking Choco; Calzada, being effectively reinforced, as was previously announced, marched against Popayan with 2000 men, troops of different descriptions, and at the same time your Excellency could only dispose of unarmed troops. The transmission of the muskets from Guayana had been impeded by unforeseen obstacles, and it was not to be hoped that they would arrive in time; and not being able to strengthen the weak points, it appeared difficult not only to disperse the storm, but even to check or prevent its ravages. To collect the arms, which our divisions possessed in different directions, on one point alone, would have left many points open to the enemy, by

which he could approach the capital. Fortitude, energy, and activity, were the only arms in the power of the chief of the department; enthusiasm, courage, resolution, even desperation, were the resources the people presented: and by being successful with these in one or more provinces, attention would be required to more circumscribed limits, the dangers would be lessened, other resources would be procured, and other steps might be taken.

Courage, activity, and extraordinary energy, were the objects and the rule with which your Excellency presented the threatened provinces. The difficulty of assisting the army of the south, obliged the commandant-general of Popayan to evacuate that town, an anti-military position, which offered few resources, and no advantages, whilst, by retiring upon Cauca, the state of the ground, and the enthusiasm of the inhabitants, would enable him to make a vigorous and obstinate defence. The commandant-general had taken his measures; but on the day when this retreat was to take place, he was attacked in the streets of the town; 400 muskets, and the greater part of the column that defended it, were taken by the enemy, who was not indebted for this triumph to his courage, military skill, or to the superiority of his forces, but to circumstances to which it is not here our object to advert.

This unfortunate occurrence rendered the critical situation of Cundinamarca much worse.

Popayan being occupied, the invasion of the valley of Cauca would necessarily follow, and might be extended to the province of Neyva. The first being taken, the enemy would have the option of combining his operations with Warleta, to occupy Antioquia, invade Neyva, and establish a line of operations from the head-quarters of Morillo along the whole coast of Carthagena, to the immediate neighbourhood of that capital.

Under these circumstances, all the supplies that could be got ready were forwarded to Honda: the necessary artillery for the fortifications of Nare; and for the ships, stores, ammunition, clothing, money, provisions; orders were sent off for the construction of vessels with the greatest activity; officers were dispatched for the regular fortification of Angostura de Carare, others to equip the vessels, and others to direct and command the troops and the squadron: thus relieving the governor Montilla from this care, whose attention was taken up by many important affairs. The latter was to proceed to Angostura to hasten the equipment of the fleet, to superintend its regulations and departure, to embark as many good troops as could be assembled, to direct the attack or defence according to circumstances, and to prevent the combination that must naturally exist between the light troops and Warleta's division.

The result of these measures was the brilliant victory on the Peñon de Barbacoas, on the 29th

of January. The destruction of the fleet under the command of Barrada provided the Republic with 500 muskets, which were forwarded for the purpose of arming those of Antioquia; and in case of the capture of that province, to be transported to Honda, and thence to this capital. The combination being destroyed, activity and energy were redoubled; 300 muskets were immediately forwarded to Antioquia, with whatever stores, ammunition, and other supplies, your Excellency could then procure. If it had not been necessary to direct the fleet to the south, the Magdalena would have remained free from the time of this brilliant transaction.

Whilst the arms of the Republic triumphed on the Magdalena, Calzada assassinated the officers who were taken prisoners, and devastated the country of Cauca. Caly, despising the forces of the enemy, dared to maintain itself with only 40 infantry and 500 cavalry. For some time Calzada respected its resolution and position, but at length Caly was occupied, and its defenders retreated towards the provinces of Choco.

At the same time that the attacking of the enemy on the Magdalena was ordered, that the squadron proceeded to Mompox, and that the battalions organized in Antioquia were arming themselves, this province being thus put in a perfect state of defence, not only for the purpose of repelling the invasion of Warleta, and to impose respect upon the enemy, but also to assist Cauca

by the road to Anserma, means were also taken to protect and assist the numerous emigrants, who, flying from the ferocity of Calzada, crossed the Andes by Quindiu and Barragan; and the most effective measures were taken to forward supplies to Cauca, and to expel the enemy from that province. An active governor, Colonel Concha, was sent to unite the dispersed troops in Ybagué, and if possible to defend those points that were not occupied: some muskets that were taken from the enemy at Barbacoas were forwarded to him, as also ammunition, money, and a considerable quantity of side-arms. This chief was informed of the formation of two battalions from the dispersed troops of the Cazadores of Cauca and Cundinamarca, and of the emigrants able to bear arms; of the publication of the resolution of the Government to transfer the capital of the province to Cauca, which honour would be conferred upon the city that should most distinguish itself by its services and by its co-operation in the destruction of the enemy; and that he should, by means of edicts in the name of the Government, offer their liberty to those emigrant slaves who would inlist in the army for three years, reserving to their owners their claims on the public treasury. It was most important to the liberty of Cauca, that the arms should be received by way of Buenaventura which were under the care of the commissioner Lieutenant-Colonel Muñoz, who had been dispatched to Chili in January to

purchase 3000 muskets, and other warlike stores, as, although they might be received by the coast of Choco, yet the transporting them by land was attended with great difficulty.

At the same time the province of Neyva was not neglected. Some muskets and necessary stores were sent in January to Governor Caycedo, to be placed at the disposal of Commandant Garcia, for the purpose of covering the roads that lead to La Plata. The inlistment, organization, and command of the cavalry corps, was intrusted to Colonel Rodriguez. On the 27th of the same month, some more stores, arms, and the necessary articles for the provincial battalion were forwarded; martial law was proclaimed by order of your Excellency, which extended only to your territory, and the whole province was put in a military attitude. Your Excellency announced, that the battalions of Albion, Vargas, Guias de Apure, and yourself, would march, if the enemy should be so bold as to cross the Andes. If Calzada had dared to invade the valley of Neyva, we being favoured by the flat country, and the decision, valour, and enthusiasm of the inhabitants, the enemy would have been utterly destroyed: his army, diminished by the passage over the Andes, would have suffered total destruction, and the Governors of Popayan, Choco, and Antioquia, attacking him in the rear, there would have been no retreat left for those who might

have escaped. Your Excellency drew up the plan, and issued the necessary orders.

No less active measures were taken to assist the province of Choco, although at such a distance for receiving the necessary resources in time. Stores and other warlike articles had been previously dispatched. The column which attacked this province by the Atrato was nearly destroyed on the 19th of January; and on the Atrato, as on the Magdalena, the conquerors of the country were taught what a people can do that is determined to defend itself, and what an active and energetic Government is capable of. At the same time, the commander of the Andes frigate, a Chilian ship, guarded some of the ports on the southern coast, and crowned the arms of liberty with victory.

As Governor Cordova was ill at the time the province of Antioquia was invaded, your Excellency came to the decision of immediately dispatching a young man of activity, energy, and experienced bravery, to take the command. He marched, and on his arrival at Antioquia found Cordova recovered, and at the head of the troops assembled in the plains of Barbosa. The enemy, who had only made a demonstration on the side of Zaragoza, with the intention of attacking at Caceres, turned towards the village of Yarumal. On the 11th and 12th two parties were beaten; and this operation alone, added to the knowledge, perhaps, that the combination agreed upon with

the forces of the squadron having been destroyed, obliged him to abandon the village, and to sound a disgraceful retreat.

At the end of February, the objects of the attention of the Government had decreased, and its cares likewise. The storm was dissipated in less time than had been occupied in its formation; the horizon cleared up, and Calzada's success was but an ephemeral triumph, of no consequence to the Republic, and of no advantage to the enemy. It entered, however, into the consideration of your Excellency, that a combination might still exist, or be formed between Calzada, who occupied Cartago, although he was harassed on different sides of the valley, and Warleta, who had not as yet abandoned the neighbourhood of Antioquia. In order to disconcert this, efficacious orders were issued; more arms, ammunition, and supplies of every kind were forwarded to Neyva, Ybagué, Antioquia, and the Magdalena. Commandant Garcia was to penetrate by Guanacas, or the inland road to Popayan or Carloto; Colonel Concha by Quindiu to Cartago; part of the troops of Antioquia were to defend the pass of Bufú in Cauca; and the squadron to make incursions in the district of Ocaña, the Island of Morales, and the neighbourhood of Mompox, without compromising itself by entering into an unequal engagement, and always manœuvring with the greatest circumspection, considering that, for the purpose of reinforcing Antioquia,

its force had been weakened by separating from the squadron of the Guias de la Guardia, which had so great a share in the success at Barbacoas: it was however to place itself in communication and contact with the expedition of Colonel Carmona against Ocaña, to co-operate with that division in the manner pointed out by its chief, and to communicate to him the movements of the light troops of the enemy on the banks of the river. Calzada flattered himself at Popayan with the idea of subjecting Cauca, and of reconquering the kingdom; and the coward found himself obliged to evacuate the valley at the mere appearance of the advance of the troops by Guanacas and Quindiu: he trembled at the sight of small parties, and shook with fear at the rustling of the bushes that were agitated by the wind. Elated with the apparent brilliancy of a useless success, the presence of chimerical danger embarrassed him. He no doubt did not reckon upon the union, firmness, valour, and extraordinary fortitude of the people. Your Excellency saw the inhabitants of this valley redouble their exertions according to necessity, and wrest triumphs from fortune, so often adverse. Your Excellency saw those of Antioquia, immoveable in the midst of imminent danger, wait the orders of the Government, and then precipitate themselves *en masse* against the attacks of the invader.

In consequence of these dispositions, the commander of the battalion of Neyva beat a column

of the enemy of 100 men in Lame, whom he pursued to Pitayó; another column, organized in Ybagué, occupied Cartago without opposition, on the 22d March, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Murgueytio; and at this date our squadron was in the national port of Ocaña, in communication with Colonel Carmona, who had occupied the town since the 10th, under the immediate orders of his Excellency the Liberator.

Warleta, whether from consideration of the rashness of his enterprise, or that he was informed of the unfortunate occurrence at Barrada, and of the expedition to Ocaña, retreated to Mompox, and divided his forces by reinforcing the squadron that was on the Banco, and covering Tamalameque and Chiriguana, for the purpose of impeding the operations of Colonel Carmona. Antioquia having nothing to fear either from Warleta, or the forces of Popayan, the regiments of Guias and Albion, which were marching to the assistance of that province, received counter-orders. Circumstances being entirely changed, the Government considered the moment to be arrived to operate against Mompox from Antioquia; not only to threaten and occupy the enemy on his flank and rear, to prevent his acting offensively with his squadron, or with the column of Chiriguana, but also for the purpose of occupying Mompox at a favourable opportunity. Lieutenant-colonel Cordova was charged with these opera-

tions, leaving the command of the province to Lieutenant-colonel Ricaurte.

At the time that the liberated territory was rapidly extending, when the forces of the enemy were paralyzed, and the arms of the Republic triumphed every-where, his Excellency the Liberator presented himself a second time in the department. Brigadier-general Valdes led a strong and respectable division from the eastern side of Venezuela. These being quartered in Sogamozo, General Valdes was charged with the direction and command of the army of the south, the greater part of which was already assembled at Neyva under the orders of Colonel Mires, consisting of three battalions of infantry, and a strong body of cavalry, to which the forces operating in Cauca were to be added; stores, artillery, ammunition, clothing, armourers, armourers' chests, medicine chests, surgeons, money, and whatever was necessary to equip this army, had been dispatched by your Excellency; and finally, the armament was forwarded under the orders of the said General Valdes. Supplies of the same kind had been forwarded to the division of Cartago. If it is not to be conceived how, in what time, and with what resources, the enemy was driven from Cácota, victories were gained on the Magdalena, in Cauca, Antioquia, Lame, and on the Atrato; how a column from Choco arrived at Buenaventura to assist the province of Cauca; another marched from Antioquia towards

Mompox; another occupied the towns of Anserma and Cartago; how the squadron beheld itself in a condition to attack the enemy in his position, to conquer and destroy him; and how the provinces still remained armed and in a state of defence;—still less can it be conceived how, notwithstanding so many objects engaged the attention, a respectable army could, at the same time, be formed to raise the standard of liberty in the towns of the department of Quito; and for the new battalion of Bogota, consisting of more than a thousand effective men, still to remain in this capital. When the opinion and will of the people are in unison; when they prefer ceasing to exist rather than be slaves; when there is not one citizen who sides with the tyrants; when it is unanimously decided that subjection is the greatest of all evils; and when the springs of the political machine are of a proportionate temper, it turns with rapidity and acts with activity,—nothing can appear extraordinary.

The active measures of your Excellency, seconded and executed with enthusiasm by the people, produced these great effects, these almost inconceivable forerunners of those advantageous results that might be expected, that could only be measured by the energy, the impulsive motion, of the operations of the Government, and by the exertions, unanimity, and fortitude of the people. In the midst of the great sacrifices that were made by the provinces of Choco, Antioquia,

Popayan, and Mariquita, they were required to deliver 3500 slaves, who would cease to be such when they had served three years in the armies of the Republic, according to the decree of his Excellency the Liberator. Thus was the slave seen fighting both for his civil and political liberty, and the difficulty of conceding in *fact* the liberty of the slaves, already declared in *right*, was obviated; that being referred to time and to the services rendered to the Republic, of which they were about to become citizens.

Whilst the province of Antioquia generously contributed the contingent of slaves that was required of it, those of Mariquita and Neyva sent eight hundred active soldiers to the army assembled in Cúcuta. The latter, and that of Bogota, sent there a great number of mules (acemilas), the greater part of them voluntary donations.

At this time, the pretended reconqueror of the kingdom, who evacuated the towns of the valley, being perfectly ignorant of our condition, was obliged to send a column of three hundred men to cross the Andes, to observe the interior. General Valdes was not as yet at the head of the army, but the second in command, Colonel Mires, gave the enemy such information at La Plata as it did not come to collect, but such as it might have expected from the courage and boldness of men who fight for their country. The liberating army of the south being put in motion, a small part of it defeated, at Pitayó, on the 6th June,

the best troops of a division which had obtained no other advantages but what resulted from assassination, rapine, and the devastation of the villages it had occupied for a few days. Calzada was the enemy who, in the simultaneous invasion of the department, was punished the last, for circumstances required it should be so. The principal part of the enemy being defeated at Pitayó, Calzada kept a column in the neighbourhood of Popayan. Our army, excessively fatigued in the passage of the Andes, the cavalry wearied and destitute of baggage-waggons, was ordered by General Valdes to Calotó, to join the troops that were operating in the valley, and to provide themselves with the supplies they wanted; not only to conclude the destruction of the enemy, but also to continue the road to Pasto; thus crossing a territory decidedly hostile to our cause, and where it would be impossible to procure the supplies that were required, or to receive those that would be gradually forwarded from Cauca and Popayan. This city was at length occupied on the 15th July; and on the 16th the General informed the Government, he did not think it prudent to continue his operations as far as Pasto, without having all the supplies he was in need of. The army was not completely armed; and the Government always availed itself of circumspection and prudence in its direction, which were so necessary to prevent its being exposed to disasters which it would be difficult to

repair speedily, and much less so in circumstances when all the necessary articles might be expected to be procured, and when his Excellency the Liberator and President had ordered your Excellency not to compromise the said forces in doubtful operations or certain danger.

The communication of the General shewing the impossibility of advancing farther beyond Popayan, your Excellency informed him of the dangers which the army ran from being stationed in a city that had always been exposed to surprisals, where that of the 24th January had just been executed with success on the part of the enemy, and where public opinion was not generally decided as to the public cause. The General had also already complained of the desertion he suffered, and the difficulty that attended the arrival of the provisions; and these communications, added to the opinion that the bodies of troops might be conveniently completed, organized, and supplied in the valley of Cauca, and, above all, that they would be safe from all danger of being surprised and dispersed, dictated to your Excellency the order of the 29th July for the evacuation of Popayan, leaving only a small corps of observation in that town. Your Excellency observed every thing that reason, experience, and circumspection dictated; nevertheless, the General was left free to remain in the town, if the difficulties that presented themselves could be overcome. The General approved

of the prudence of your Excellency's observations, and resolved to leave Popayan to take up a position in the plains of Cauca, to re-organize and discipline the army, and to be prepared to act upon Pasto at a suitable opportunity. The Liberator President was put in possession of the measures, and manifested to your Excellency his approbation of them, as being in conformity with his views, and with the general plan of the campaign.

In order to assist the people of Cauca in supplying the army with provisions, your Excellency ordered the Governor of Neyva to send frequent supplies of provisions to that province, and sent 500 arrobas of salt from the salt-mines of Zipaguirá, and placed 4000 dollars at the disposal of Governor Concha, at Neyva, for the purchase of cattle and other articles for the subsistence of the troops. Other remittances were made to the commissariat of the army out of the treasury of this capital; and at Easter, supplies of ammunition were continued to be forwarded, as they were produced in our manufactories, of nitre and powder, and according as other not less weighty considerations on other points would permit.—I now proceed to the Magdalena.

The occupation of the Rio Hacha by the squadron of Admiral Brion, and the troops of Commandant-general Montilla, being known, the necessary armament was forwarded to the Governor of Mariquita for the battalion of the Alta-

Magdalena, with orders to be embarked without loss of time, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Maza, who, combining his movements with those of Lieutenant-colonel Cordova, who was operating on the river Cauca against Mompox, would place these troops at his disposal. The column of Cordova dislodged the enemy, who defended the mouths of the Nechi from that important position. A short time subsequent to this, 40 men destroyed a triple column in Mojaná, and opened the entry into Mompox. Maza obtained other successes on the Magdalena. Mompox was at length occupied, and the Spaniards were obliged to retreat to the strong position of Teneriffe. Cordova and Maza having united their forces, the light troops of the enemy were immediately attacked and destroyed, and the Spaniards did not retain a single vessel on the Magdalena. These rapid successes were the result of well concerted, active, and well-timed measures, executed with singular exactness and courage. The time being passed in which the Governments, elated with triumphs, slept under the shade of the laurels with which the arms of the Republic were crowned, victory in these days of activity caused it to be redoubled. New measures were taken to increase these two battalions to 800 rank and file each; to form another at Mompox, 200 men being sent for that purpose from Antioquia; to march the battalion Giraldot, under the command of Lieutenant-co-

lonel Ricaurte, to effect a junction with the army of the coast; to send money, flour, sugars, and other articles, to that army, and to the squadron; and every thing that was necessary to maintain and place it in a condition to execute the operations confided to it, on the brilliant footing on which it now stands.

Your Excellency directed the operations on the Magdalena, until after the glorious victory of Teneriffe, when our forces were placed under the orders of the Commandant-general Montilla, who having left Rio Hacha, for reasons which it does not belong to me to record, had penetrated with the Admiral up the Magdalena, had occupied several villages, and opened the communication with the interior. The Liberator pursued the war in this part until November, when, marching at the head of the army to the western provinces of Venezuela, he again committed to your Excellency the direction of the army of the Magdalena, and the administration of all the public affairs. Your Excellency taking as a principle the general views of his Excellency, and the state of operations in the provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha, directed those measures which were most conformable to it.

The extraordinary activity of Admiral Brion, the skill, judgment, and energy of Commandant-general Montilla, relieved your Excellency from great trouble in the direction of the war. The unfortunate event of Turbaco, which happened

on the 1st September, was remedied; the opinion of the people of the province of Carthagena supplied many resources; and your Excellency made frequent remittances of money to the army and squadron, to assist placing in activity the troops which were sent from the provinces of Antioquia and Mariquita, those who had been raised by Colonel Lara at Cúcuta, Pamplona, and the Socorro, and those who had been formed by General Montilla. This chief waited to place the blockade of Carthagena on a respectable footing, and to set the expedition on foot against Santa Martha, which he confided to the brave Colonel Correno. Some difficulties placed themselves in the way of the marching of this expedition, but they were overcome by the valour of the troops and the skill of the chief; and at length, after the bloody battle of Cuneja on the 10th November, in which the battalions of the rifles, and of Giraldot, which were organized at Antioquia, bravely distinguished themselves, the city of Santa Martha was liberated on the 11th, and Cundinamarca gained a new province. Some of the places of this province had taken the alarm against the independents, and appeared determined obstinately to continue to struggle against the liberators; but they have all proceeded to lay down their arms, delivering them to Colonel Narvaez, who was commissioned to pacify them, and are now already united to the Government of the Republic. This important event has been produced by gentle measures, and

by means of good treatment and generosity towards those who were misled, and whose docility had led them to follow the suggestions of the enemy.

In September your Excellency received intelligence from the Government of Chili, under date of the 7th August, by which you were informed, that the army of General San Martin, and the squadron of Lord Cochran, would sail for Peru on the 15th without fail. Your Excellency immediately communicated this information to the general of the army of the south, and advised him to hold himself in readiness to march upon Pasto and Quito, so soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself for the better prosecution of his operations. The Governor of Cauca received orders to form a fresh battalion of reserve, and the Governor of Neyva was ordered to send 300 recruits to Cauca.

By the arrival of a foreign merchant at the port of Buenaventura, who had been dispatched from Chili by our commissioner Muñoz, with assurances and receipts of various warlike stores, sufficient not only to arm and equip the army of the south, but also to form a large park in reserve, it was known that the province of Guayaquil had declared its independence of Spain. General Valdes contracted for all those articles at reasonable prices, and at convenient times for payment; which contract was approved by your Excellency; and on the 2d November he notified that he was

going to march immediately upon Popayan and Pasto, to avail himself of the favourable events that had occurred in Guayaquil.

The Government reckoned, that the army of the south would march immediately upon Pasto at the moment that Cuença must have declared its independence, and that an expedition from Guayaquil had proceeded to Quito, which would unite many places to its party;—that department would be free in December, and the Republic would have extended its territory in the whole of this country. Notwithstanding our army received frequent intelligence that the enemy had abandoned Juanambú, and weakened the garrison of Pasto, and that our force appeared sufficiently strong to march and to avail itself of the most favourable opportunity that presented itself, yet it could not stir from the valley before the 2d December, on account, as the general said, of the troops being in want of clothing to open the campaign. Popayan was again occupied by our arms without opposition, and the army continued its operations, notwithstanding the obstacles it experienced, without the Government having to this day received any information of its departure or of the result.

The column of Choco, united to the troops of the coast, received orders to act, under the command of Colonel Causino, on the most necessary points; and it is as yet only known that the port of Esmeraldas, in the neighbourhood of Quito,

has been occupied, and it is very probable that Barbacoas is also liberated; nearly the whole province of Popayan being, by these operations, united to the Republican Government.

After equipping the army of the south, there remained a surplus of warlike stores sufficient to equip two armies of reserve. Commissioner Muñoz arrived at Buenaventura with the remainder of the military stores, which he had succeeded in procuring by dint of zeal, and on the credit of the Government, he having agreed that the proprietor should sell at Guayaquil as many as were required for the better security of the place and province. Colonel Causino had to form a great park of reserve in Cauca; and it is to be hoped that the knowledge and interest of that chief will procure some rest to your Excellency in particular, in the same manner as the dispatch and abilities of the commissioner Muñoz have done.

A division of ships of war likewise arrived, too large for the Pacific, considering our possessions in that part; but on the purchase of which there are still some doubts, which will be removed on the arrival of the owner of them at this place.

When the army assembled in Cúcuta began to move towards the western provinces of Venezuela, the battalion of Bogota, perfectly equipped, and in regular order, marched to join it. The battalions that had been formed, organized, and equipped in the provinces of Socorro and Tunja,

likewise followed under the immediate command of their governors, to whom your Excellency rendered every possible assistance for the fulfilment of this charge. Your Excellency ordered fresh contingents to be levied in the provinces of Pamplona, Tunja, Socorro, and Bogota, to replace the army of the north; in Mariquita and Antioquia, to replace that of the Magdalena; and in Neyva and Cauca, for the army of the south. These were immediately formed, and that of Bogota without delay proceeded to Cúcuta, perfectly equipped. A third was formed in this province, which is already assembled, and is firmly organized and disciplined. The other provinces are ready with their respective contingents.

The militia continues to be organized and instructed; the villages dispute the honour of the preference of being inlisted, and also dispute that of discipline. The chiefs of these corps have employed themselves with zeal and interest to execute the orders of the Government, and to infuse a military character into men, who formerly looked upon the uniform of a soldier with terror and aversion.

On the 18th December your Excellency received communications, accompanied by the treaties for the armistice, and the regulation of the war, which had been agreed upon at Truxillo; and on the day following your Excellency communicated them to all the chiefs of provinces and of divisions to whom it was necessary to communicate

them. In consideration of this armistice, your Excellency renewed your orders to increase the contingents, to double the hours of their instruction, and to hold all the means ready to decide the fate of Colombia at one blow, if unfortunately hostilities should be recommenced, and the enemy should abandon himself to the result of one or more battles.

The occupations of the war did not entirely absorb the attention. In order to prevent and avoid any disturbances in the provinces, in case of the illness or death of a governor commandant-general, and to avoid any doubts and consultations with respect to the command of active corps and divisions, your Excellency expedited the resolution of the 13th January:—In conformity to the general orders, the command of a province to fall upon the officer of the highest rank, without distinction of arms or of grades, effective or reformed, of the line or of the militia,—in case of equal rank, on the one of the longest standing, and in case of equal standing, to be decided by the former rank. This measure to be understood to exist, until the Government appointed the officer it considered most proper, without regard to rank or standing. The command of a battalion to fall on the major; and in default of him, and there not being any lieutenant-colonel attached to it, on the oldest captain; the general order being reformed on this point. The accidental command of an active division, or of an army, to

which no second chief shall have been appointed by the Government, to fall on the officer of highest rank, of whatever description, that shall be attached to it, the graduated being preferred to the effective, if of longer standing.

The better regulation, the glory and consideration of the militia corps, also required the order issued by your Excellency on the 15th January. The great number of officers had formerly caused this distinction to be unduly esteemed; but in order to invest it with the proper consideration, it was ordered, that in all the militia corps that were drilling and exercising, there should be only two officers of the rank of lieutenant and ensign to each company; that the persons proposed should be of known patriotism and ability; that every officer that should pass from the militia to regiments of the line should lose one step; that whenever the militia should be called into active service, the corps and companies should have their regular complement of officers, those being chosen who shall have manifested their ability and devotion to the profession; that no militia officer who served at the first period of the Republic, shall be recognized as such, who has not received an especial appointment from the present Government; and lastly, that no native shall be received as an officer in a veteran corps, who shall not first have been a candidate, or have exhibited a knowledge of the service, excepting

only in cases where particular military services have been rendered to the Republic.

In order to guard against any disagreements between the military and civil power, your Excellency, in the regulation of the 15th January, determined the law on that point, as well with regard to corps of the line on active service, as to the militia: the cases are therein detailed in which the militia is subjected to the common law, and also those of which the chief head of the corps can take cognizance.

It being apprehended that some subaltern officers might, by exceeding their commissions, molest the people, and not treat the citizens with the respect which they deserve, the Government most particularly commanded the chiefs to use their utmost exertions in disciplining the troops. For this object, and in consideration of the public welfare, your Excellency recommended the general in the south to issue the most effective orders, by means of which the disorders that generally occur in the procuring of cavalry might be prevented; that the officers should not have more baggage than was absolutely necessary for the march, and should not be attended by an excessive train, that always encumbers and delays military movements; and that the theft, sale, or mal-appropriation of cavalry articles, should be punished with the greatest severity. Your Excellency desired that the people should suffer as little as possible, and that the conduct of the

military should make them feel the weight of the public burdens less heavily. Your Excellency has done whatever you thought calculated to persuade the officers and soldiers that they are armed citizens, not to make war on other unarmed citizens, but to defend and protect them, and to repay, by their services in front of the enemy, those which they perform, by maintaining the armies with their labour and their sacrifices, and bearing the weight both of the common and extraordinary expenses of the state;—that the labourer and soldier are members of the same nation, equally deserving the consideration of Government; and that it is their mutual interest to procure to each other all the good that is within their reach, and to avoid every possible species of evil.

The providing of the baggage mules was an article that pressed solely upon those places through which the troops passed, and in cases of forced marches, they were taken without consideration, and the people suffered considerable loss. Your Excellency advised all the governors of provinces to provide a mule for each officer on the eve of joining the army, and two for the chiefs of battalion upwards, they being purchased out of the funds of the public treasury, to be marked with a particular iron, and to be delivered only at the time of marching. Every officer being obliged to present his passport to the magistrates of the places through which he should pass, they

should mention the number of animals in his service, with a memorandum that the places are not to present him with any. An officer cannot dispose of his cattle, because such disposal is declared null, and the purchaser condemned in a penalty. Your Excellency recommended the punctual execution of this order, and of that contained in the regulation of the 1st December, by which any officer who shall infringe it is condemned, not only to be severely punished, but also as a violator of superior orders, and unfit to belong to the honourable profession of a soldier. The result has, up to this time, been conformable to the views of your Excellency. Various corps have marched in different directions, and have not molested the people with any requisition of baggage mules.

The Spaniards obliged the towns to provide rations for the troops, whether on march or in garrison; and this imposition drew bitter tears from the unfortunate cultivator of the soil, from whom even the seed was often taken. Your Excellency did away with this horrible impost, ordering that the providing rations for troops on march, should be at the expense of the treasuries; and your Excellency has seen, with great satisfaction, that this measure has procured great relief to the people, and has drawn many blessings on the Government.

Another of the evils which the people suffered under the government of the Spaniards, was the

billeting the officers in the houses of individuals. The citizens being obliged to maintain those billeted upon them, it became a serious expense to them. Being under the necessity of supplying them with whatever they required, and of administering to their caprices, and even to their vices, they were exposed to continued vexation and contempt. It was necessary to be on the strictest watch with these men, who were more masters of the house than guests, who were every moment violating hospitality, and who were grievous and dangerous spies upon the motions, actions, and words of the family. The officers of the Republic could not be said to cause such grievous vexations; but it was a burden upon the citizens, although many of them considered it a duty or a pleasure to serve them. The article of billeting was, in a great measure, reformed by your Excellency, who communicated with his Excellency the Liberator upon the subject, in consequence of a representation from the solicitor-general of Socorro, and obtained a decree, in virtue of which lodgings were to be provided only for the marching officer, who should not remain longer than eight days, the Government being obliged, after that period, to provide him with quarters in the same manner as for the stationary troops: Any officer who shall be attacked with illness on his journey, and who shall be kept in a private house, there being no hospital, shall have a claim on the Government, as well

as on the inhabitants, for every protection, assistance, and care, it is in their power to render him : those houses which shall be made use of in such circumstances shall be held in consideration, so that they shall not subsequently have billets imposed upon them, except in cases of great necessity.

It was necessary for the facilitating of the administration of the monies for the troops in Tunja, that a commissary should be appointed, and also to provide provisions in that province; and the regulation of the 18th May was issued for the organization and administration of the corresponding offices.

The creation and organization of a military school, which is so necessary in the province, can only be the work of other times, and favourable circumstances. The Government, being desirous of having military men who should do honour to their profession, and as they could not acquire the knowledge required without one, established a provisional school, in which they might obtain some of the necessary acquirements. All the officers of the garrison, of whatever description, are there made acquainted with the army regulations, in order that they may be well aware of their respective duties of field and garrison service, general orders, punishments, &c.: they will there be taught the principles of regular and field fortification; the artillery officers, those which are peculiar to their branch of service; the

cadets and other officers will be instructed in the elements of education, and of civil duties, which are so necessary to the military career; lessons in the French language will also be given, the hours being so regulated as not to interfere with the principal object. The academy is not limited to the instruction of the military; every individual can be admitted, without any premium being required of them. Your Excellency has reserved to yourself the right of examining, every three months, either in person or by any confidential agent, the progress of this institution, which could be carried to any extent your Excellency may wish, if skilful preceptors, unoccupied by the operations of the war, could be easily procured.

Thus will that information be diffused abroad, which, during so many years, has not been able to penetrate to these places; men will be formed for the cabinet and the field; the citizens will acquire that knowledge which is fit to qualify them for public offices, as warriors, and as agents of an independent Republic. To this point do the inhabitants of Colombia march with rapid strides. In the beginning of the year, the moral force of the department, and a very small proportion of arms, were sufficient to annihilate the exertions of the pretended reconquerors; at this moment, the physical force is equivalent to the moral: 34,000 inhabitants of Cundinamarca have this year taken up arms in defence of the indepen-

dence of their country; there are now considerable armies well equipped and supplied; they are in a state of subordination, and are as well instructed and disciplined as they could be expected to be in the course of a year: there is a considerable armament, and contracts are at present executing, by which the storehouses of the Republic will be supplied with every thing necessary: great parks, and stores of every article, are raised over the ruins left by the Spaniards: corps of reserve and depots are every-where seen.

The statements which have been transmitted from the provinces, and which are annexed hereto, give an exact account of the efforts and sacrifices that have been made by all; of the numbers of soldiers that have been levied, and of the considerable sums that have been distributed. Its particular state is its most eloquent eulogium, as well as of the respective governors, amongst whom it would be difficult to point out one who has not fulfilled the orders transmitted by your Excellency, as well as by the war ministry of the Government of the Republic and the general staff officers, with punctuality, exactness, energy, and activity.

There is but one idea, one opinion, one feeling, throughout the whole department; there is no dissension, no divergency to be observed: instead of those parties, which in other places disturb the internal tranquillity, and which appear inherent in revolutions, nothing is met with but union,

fortitude in suffering, firmness, wishes for the acquirement of knowledge, and concentration of strength and resources; yes, union and constancy, which have given a firm, certain, decided, simultaneous, and uniform direction to affairs. To be sure of the necessity and importance of this uniformity of feelings and simultaneous co-operation, it is only necessary to take a view of those nations who have put themselves in motion to break the chains which oppressed them; to recollect the cloudy days of England, when party and faction turned that famous island into a theatre of blood and horror; to look at France in the days of that fortuitous concurrence of moral monstrosities, which were far beyond nature and crime; and, lastly, to make a comparison between Colombia, with her armies, resources, economy, and the imposing attitude which her resolution, union, and fortitude impart to her—and that nation, her enemy, which, divided into parties, and condemned to create every thing, struggles with the misery and misfortunes which have been brought upon her by the pride and ignorance of a despotic system.

FINANCE.

A Government whose interests are raised upon the ruin of the people, is soon destroyed; and one

which, in providing for its necessities, quietly suffers the fountains of riches to dry up, without looking forward to its own future wants, can only be accompanied with disorder, confusion, and dilapidation, in the important branch of the public finances. How much does the succeeding Government stand in need of a skilful hand, to seek among the ruins for whatever may be useful, and which is not embarrassed by them in raising the new edifice that it requires for its preservation! In circumstances where all parts are struggling for existence, the usual revenues do not suffice for the extraordinary expenditure, and new sources of treasure are required—imprudence, disorder, and dissipation, must infallibly carry destruction along with them. It is, however, not sufficient that these defects be avoided; a spirit of organization, of foresight, economy, and, if possible, a creating spirit, is necessary. There is a great difference in regulating the various branches of finance, in a peaceable and constituted nation, where all the affairs are transacted in a more or less regular course, and to organize them all at once under a complete transformation of the Government, and notwithstanding the troubles of a state of war. Whatever were the difficulties which this arduous task presented, the effect of the first measures which were taken in the four concluding months of last year, have already been seen. In the present one, various regulations have been made, others

have been reformed, new instructions have been given, a number of decrees have been issued, improvements have been made in some branches of finance, administrations have been regulated, and offices organized; places have been created or suppressed, according as they have been required; offices for the better regulation and management of the revenue have been diminished, increased, or altered. The branches of the public treasury, by acquiring consistency, and daily improving, have been able to sustain, and partly to suffice for the expenses, which have never been greater at any time. It would be extending the limits of this statement too much, to enter into a detail of the measures that were dictated under this head: the expediency of the means taken to increase and regulate the national treasure, will be seen by the expenses and their distribution; the people being, as far as possible, spared from such extraordinary sacrifices and distributions as were not absolutely necessary.

The sovereign body, invested with the power of dictating the laws, not being as yet in existence, and your Excellency being authorized to issue the most indispensable decrees, and afterwards empowered to make those reforms in the public finances which were considered necessary, all those measures and decrees have only been issued as temporary, until the Congress of Colombia shall have sealed them with their sove-

reign consent,—shall have revoked or reformed them.

Considering the tardiness with which some of the measures of the superintendence of the finance were carried into effect, to the prejudice of the public and the exchequer; and for the purpose of correcting this inefficacy in the expeditious execution of orders which required activity, the powers of the superintendant-general were increased, and he was invested with the power of inflicting correctional penalties upon those who were slow. It was also declared, that an officer, being a second time guilty of acting with tardiness or want of zeal, sufficient cause would exist for his dismission from his employment, and for the vacancy being filled up.

In consequence of some inconvenience that was experienced, and for the better regulation of the Supreme Junta of Finance, the third article of the 23d October was revised, it being provided, that in case of the absence of the superintendant of finance, the Junta should be presided over by the minister of the high court of justice, who should be one of the members of it, and not by the assessor, as was formerly the case.

In order to timely prevent the tardiness or malignity of such officers as should, from those causes, delay presenting their accounts at the periods specified in several decrees, and to avoid all proceedings prejudicial to the exchequer, your Excellency decreed, that any person em-

ployed in departments of the public revenue, who should neglect to present his accounts at the time prescribed, should be liable to lose his situation; it being the duty of the authority within whose cognizance it should happen, to give the necessary information thereupon, under its own responsibility, as it would be the duty of the superior tribunal of accounts to inform the Government of such occurrences, specifying the causes thereof, in order that such punishments might be applied as are specified in other resolutions.

Being in circumstances which did not permit of trade being carried on with that freedom and activity which might be beneficial to the agriculture and prosperity of the country, considering the great expenses of the treasury, and the relief of the people from the extraordinary exactions which weighed heavily upon them, commerce was declared free to all nations (with the exception of Spain under the dominion of King Ferdinand) in the ports of Buenaventura, Cupica, Charambira, &c. and any other of the free ports on the coast of Choco on the South Sea, and on the Ocean near the Atrato. Articles of war were declared free of duty. Your Excellency did not limit yourself to these points only, but because there were no others free, that of Sabanilla was freed in July, and Santa Martha in November. His Excellency the Liberator directly issued a decree on the importation duties.

As the exportation of gold in dust or in bars not only deprived the treasury of the duty on coining, but also diminished its circulation in the interior, the exportation thereof out of the free provinces of the department was prohibited on pain of confiscation, if taken in the act of leaving the territory; the Government reserving to itself the right of permitting its exportation in cases when, from causes which might be considered legitimate, or in which the interest of the Republic might be concerned, it should be thought proper to do so.

It being observed that all the melted gold was not carried to the mint, and your Excellency justly apprehending, that the bars of gold were kept back for the purpose of carrying on external or internal trade, to the prejudice of the treasury, as regarded the duty on coining and the carriage of the couriers, all contracts of purchase, sale, or exchange in gold or silver bullion, was prohibited and declared void, without the interference of the Government, and under pain of confiscation of the gold or silver from the seller or exchanger, who might have sold or exchanged on such terms.

Tobacco being one of those branches, the cultivation and planting of which must prove a source of riches to the country, and your Excellency intending to promote it, it was decreed on the 5th October, that tobacco imported into any of the regular ports of the Atlantic or Pacific, either in foreign or national vessels, not being of

the kind cultivated in Colombia, should pay an importation duty of 50 per cent.

It being shewn by experience, that the failures and deficits of the officers employed in this branch of revenue, which were formerly of frequent occurrence, had mostly arisen from the great extent of territory which was within the jurisdiction of the principal administration of this capital, and which, on account of the distance, prevented the officers from being kept in view, or their conduct scrutinized, or the regulation of this revenue particularly observed; it was thought proper to divide the administration of tobacco into two principal parts, the one here and the other in Socorro, in conformity to the plan laid down by the great tribunal of accounts, and general superintendence of finance, which your Excellency approved of, and consequently appointed officers and their employments, declaring, that the salaries assigned to those in the principal administration of Socorro should be the same as those paid to the officers in this capital, without any alteration being made for the present in the sum which they receive as half-pay.

Sums have been sent to the factories at Ambalema and Pié de Cuesta, although not all those that were necessary. Those however have been sent, which the more important occupations of the war, and other urgent concerns, permitted.

In order to give some relief to the cultivators of tobacco in Ambalema, and to compensate them

for the lateness of payments under which they might suffer, they have been exempted from military inlistments, even in militia corps, and from extraordinary contributions.

Zeal and vigilance in those branches which constitute the patrimony of the state, and principally in those which are most productive, liberate the people from contributions and extraordinary exactions,—entering the common revenues in the public funds. The decree of the 22d August was issued for this purpose, declaring those laws to be in existence which prohibit and punish severely the contraband trade in tobacço. Your Excellency classed the persons, qualities, and sexes, in order to determine the nature of the punishment to be applied in case of apprehension with the contraband articles: accordingly punishments were proportioned to the crime and to the delinquents, in the application of which the Government would have no obstacles to overcome. The quantity of 100 lbs. of tobacco was fixed, in order to render the contrabandists liable to those penalties, and that the operations of the law might be put in force whenever smaller quantities were transported.

The reasons which led to the creation of a principal administration of tobacco in Socorro, also gave rise to the division of the administration of the excise in the same manner, another principal office being established in Socorro. It was supposed that this revenue, being, as his Excel-

lency the Liberator wished it to be, farmed out, would thus be rendered more productive to the treasury, as it would cause the saving of the payment of the salaries of the officers, and would prevent the risk of failures. Your Excellency caused the trial to be made, and declared that the bidding that exceeded the net amount which the treasury received from the administration would be accepted, and no other. The result has shewn, that it has not been advisable to farm out the excise revenues every-where, and that this system has been attended with success only in Zipaguira, Sogamozo, and Mesa.

The same has been tried with the duty on brandies: in those places where the proceeds accruing from the administration of the Government, exceeds the amount offered by the contractors, the administration continues. This has been experienced at Antioquia and Velez; and the revenue has continued to be collected by the state.

The system of couriers has been better regulated and organized. Two have been established monthly, to keep up the communication with Guayana and the eastern provinces of Venezuela. The armies of the north and south of Cundinamarca having proceeded to a considerable distance, it has been necessary to establish three monthly couriers, in lieu of the two which existed formerly between these two parts. Frequent communication affords speedy and opportune in-

formation on the state of affairs, and is of great importance in the operations of the Government. The establishment of post-houses has been regulated with all possible order; various decrees, regulations, and instructions, having been issued on this head.

The works of the mint have been so improved, that what it formerly required three years to finish is now performed in one only: the revenue thereby acquires considerable advantages, the coining for individuals has not suffered any delay, without prejudicing that of the state treasures; and the sum mentioned in the affixed statement, has been coined in the last year.

The branch of sequestrations, being an extraordinary one of the public treasures, and which at the commencement was in a shameful state of disorder, has been regulated as far as possible, the method and terms in which the sequestered property is to be let being laid down, and the ministers of the treasury being charged with the recovery and collection of the revenues. The decree of his Excellency the Liberator on this subject has been punctually complied with; no emigrant family has been exposed to indigence; the doweries have been restored, those claims which have been proved have been paid, and the immediate heirs have not been deprived of the portion that belonged to them. Thus have the exchequer, and the different families, received that which the law allotted to them.

The provinces of Carthagena, Santa Martha, and Rio Hacha, being liberated by the arms of the Republic, your Excellency, as the supreme chief of the administration of the department, issued as a provisional measure the regulations of the various branches of finance, and the plan of the offices employed in them, until any alteration should be required by time, or till they should be confirmed by the regular authority. Your Excellency has always considered, that it is only by a regular system of administration that a government can procure the means of defraying its immense expenses; that regularity in the system of administration does not consist only in the laws which detail the method of administrating, but also in the selection of the persons who are to execute them. A very considerable discretion in the appointment of the public officers is requisite in the present circumstances, when the provinces are labouring under a general state of devastation, operated by the Spanish Government, and when it is not easy constantly to supply all the necessities of the Republic.

The tithes (*diezmos*) being one of the most productive revenues of the department, and your Excellency wishing that the bishoprics it contains should be administered on an uniform system, it was decreed on the 17th August, that those of Carthagena and Santa Martha should be administered in the same manner, and on the same terms, as those of the diocese of Popayan, regard being

had to the contents of the regulation passed on the 24th November last year, on this head. In order to increase this revenue in the department, your Excellency has declared the contractors exempt from public commissions and inlistments, and their horses free from public service, whenever it shall not be very urgent, or when there shall be any others to employ. The result has been conformable to your Excellency's views: it has been ascertained that the sale of the tithes has generally surpassed that of last year; and this increase, at the same time that it operates in favour of the churches, and of that clergy which has sacrificed every thing to the cause of its country, will also produce a very considerable improvement in the national treasury.

When a government considers the prosperity of a nation as the foundation of its splendour and glory, it is incessantly occupied in the discovery of means to increase the public property, and always so as to weigh as lightly as possible on the people; whilst an oppressive government is always seen anxious to impoverish the citizens, pretending to establish its dominion on the ruin and annihilation of the people. It is of no consequence to a government which is hostile to them by its constitution, and which destroys for its own convenience, whether, in supplying its urgent necessities, it at once exhausts the sources of riches, and annihilates private fortunes;—but the government constituted for the common

felicity; if possible, timely foresees the necessity, and the means of providing against it. In the actual situation of the department, very few expedients have presented themselves; but your Excellency has embraced all those which circumstances permitted.

The price of stamps has been increased from four to six reals, and from half a real to a real the sheet. If this measure should have the effect of diminishing the number of processes, it would produce a great good; for as the unjust litigant is always condemned in costs, the increase in the price of the paper justly bears upon him. All the documents of public clerks, of 1000 dollars and upwards, were ordered to be legalized, and to be written on the paper of the first seal, this requisition being to be observed in future. The duty of fifths (*quinta*), which the gold-washers, otherwise called *mazamorreros*, have to contribute, has also been held in consideration, in order that its recovery and collection may increase the public funds. The gold mines of Malpaso, in the province of Mariquita, have been in activity since the 13th November, with orders to give in an account of the charges attendant upon them, and of their produce, in order that the profits accruing to the treasury may be estimated. Those of silver at Betas, which are worked on account of the state, have been supplied by your Excellency with every thing useful that was required for them. On the 29th April, an order was

issued for the cultivation, and protection of the dyeing tobacco. The two administrations of tobacco and brandy, in the city of Maranilla, have been united, for the purpose of diminishing the expenses and salaries. For the same purpose, and also to provide for the subsistence of the army of Cúcuta, a commissioner was sent in January to the plains of Casanare, to make contracts for cattle, and to forward them as they should be required. The salary of the mayors was reduced on the 4th February to the rate of forty dollars monthly. Platina offering the great advantage of beginning to pay off the national debt which had been contracted with several British commercial houses, and also for making contracts for the necessary supplies with this precious metal, the mining provinces have been ordered to collect all that could be met with, and to forward it to the capital. In order to avoid all failures to the prejudice of the treasury, a period was fixed for all the collectors of taxes who had not given security, and that being passed, the ministers would proceed to the nomination of other confidential collectors. To prevent fraud in the excise duties, in favour of the land revenues of Citará, the measure proposed by the governor of Choco has been approved, of establishing stores and yards in the pass of Bebará, the same duty being levied which is received at the pass of Juntas de Tamaná as a toll. The same establishment, with the same duties, has been approved of at the in-

ternal port of Andágueda, the governor being recommended to open the road from Nóvita to Anserma.

The Government being impelled to provide for the urgent necessities of the armies, and for so many necessary expenses, and to consider the means of increasing the national funds to supply such considerable distributions, it has not ceased to alleviate the burden by dictating beneficent measures. On the 24th May, the natives of Cundinamarca were declared free from the payment of the tributes which they owed from former tercios, until the St John of last year, this duty not being to be exacted from them until the next tercio of the nativity. The natives of the town of Naranjal have been exempted from the payment of the tributes they were in arrears for, and from those of the coming year. Those of Jagua and Pintal have been freed from those accruing, until the third of St John of this year. The legal claims of those individuals of the province of Choco, who supplied the army with provisions, have been recognized in the public treasury, they being recompensed with the annual-payment of 5 per cent. Considering the scarcity of the province of Choco, as represented by the governor, the soldiers who were on service there have been granted eight dollars without deduction, but no rations. On the representation of the ministers of the public treasury of this capital, and of Pamplona, a fifth office of writer has been creat-

ed in the treasury of Bogota, with a salary of 300 dollars, and another at Pamplona with 250 dollars. By the provisional order for the collectors of the national revenues in the province of Carthagena, and for the regulation and administration of the public finances in the districts under their charge, the duty known under the name of *sisa*, levied upon meat, was declared abolished on the 18th October, in favour of the people of that province: this abolition to be extended to the province of Santa Martha, if such a duty existed there. The excise duty on all necessary vegetables was also abolished, whenever they should be disposed of in public places or warehouses, but not in shops or booths; in the latter case, the duty to remain in force. These exemptions have been extended to the provinces of Carthagena, Santa Martha, and Rio Hacha.

The considerable increase in the departments of finance, has been the effect of regularity and order, of the zeal, vigilance, and economy of your Excellency, of the prudence exercised in the selection of the officers, and of the approved zeal of the superintendant-general, and the other officers of finance. Comparing the clear produce of the revenues of the salt mines in this year, with that of the last year of the Spanish Government, an increase, by arithmetical computation, will be perceived of nearly 100 per cent; the proceeds thereof being under the present system as stated in the affixed statement, besides 8 to

10 ℔ dollars which the salt mines of Chita ought to produce. Under the oppressive system in the year 1818, the excise produced, the ports being open, 42,404 dollars, and in this year it has produced nearly the same amount, the ports being shut, and the duties confined to the produce of the earth.

This revenue must experience a considerable increase, the ports of Santa Martha and Sabanilla being open, and still more so when the others are opened; the importation through these being the source of its increase and prosperity. Notwithstanding the exemption of tributes granted by the Government to several places, this branch has produced the same amount as in the year 1818, and must increase in consequence of the measures taken for its better regulation, for regularity in presenting the accounts, and for exactness in the collection. The branches of ecclesiastical mesadas, and of temporalities, which were abandoned before the establishment of the Republic, are regularly collected. The ports being occupied by the arms of the Republic, the enemy being driven from the territory which they occupied in the department, and the commerce between the provinces being freed, the administration of the post-office will increase, and also that of commissions. The mint, besides having a fund it had not before, has delivered, since the entry of the troops of the Republic, the sum of 210,100 dollars in silver, being the produce of the coining of that which

was collected by the Spanish Government, and deposited there; the sum of 105,200 dollars has also been delivered by it, the greater part of which was remitted to the army of the Apure. Including the saving of the expenses in the offices of the suppressed revenues, and the diminution of the salaries of the officers in the board of accounts, a saving of 25,000 dollars will accrue to the public treasury, from the present system of uniting all the branches in this tribunal. The revenue of tobacco, deducting the expenses, has produced the amount mentioned in its respective statement.

It not having been possible to present all the accounts of the present year, but only those of the last up to the 31st December, it is impossible to mention exactly the increase of the branches in general which form the revenue of the Republic. With respect to the account of last year, and according to the statement of the high tribunal of accounts, limited to only 16 chests and administrations, there is a profit arising to the national exchequer of 141,237 dollars, 5 reals.

By a judicious, and above all an economical application of these resources, the armies of Cúcuta, Cauca, Carthagena, Santa Martha, and the squadron, have been clothed, equipped, and paid; assistance has been afforded to the army of General Paez; the services of the divisions of Lower Magdalena, Ocaña, and the squadron, have been rendered available; the magazines, stores, nitre-works, and hospitals, have been kept

up; envoys have been sent to Tunja and Socorro, the revenues of which, with those of Pamplona, have continually increased in the treasury of the army of the north; arms, and other warlike stores which had reached the southern ports, have been purchased and paid for; pecuniary aid has been given to the tobacco factories of Ambalema and Pié de Cuesta; the engagements and contracts for the necessary supplies, entered into at Guayana by the general commanding the army of Santa Martha, or by the admiral, on behalf of the Republic, have been honourably discharged; persons holding mortgages have been assisted; the pensions of those who have claims for vacant benefices regularly paid, and particular cases of individuals relieved; and, finally, the interest upon more than 300 ɱ dollars in the public funds has been punctually paid.

When the ordinary receipts became scarcely sufficient for so many exigencies, the Government was applied to in April, through the medium of the minister at war, for 180 ɱ dollars for the use of the army of Cúcuta, which were to be remitted in October. Your Excellency then represented what necessity there was for giving some idea of the public revenues, resources, and expenses; in consequence, his Excellency the Liberator, by a decree of the 9th of May, authorized your Excellency to increase the taxes already imposed, to make new ones, to raise loans,

and, by every possible means, to increase the public revenue.

Thus empowered, your Excellency proceeded to take as a loan the existing funds called the *funds of the holy places*, which can no longer be applied to the pious purposes for which they had been originally intended; considering yourself, however, bound to replace it as soon as circumstances should permit, and acknowledging it in the mean time as a national debt.

By the same authority, a contribution was ordered to be levied of three-fourths of all the existing property in money belonging to factories, brotherhoods, or pious works. The prices of stamps, as we have already observed, were increased by way of an extraordinary contribution, which was to cease with the necessity which required it. An indemnification of 12,000 dollars was decreed to be given to the venerable clergy of this capital, and the province of Bogota. Antioquia and Choco were required to furnish a loan, to be liquidated from the duties arising from importation. The tithes also in the province of Antioquia were taken as a loan. A moderate capitation tax was also decreed, according to the income of each person, the highest assessment of which was 20 pesos, and the lowest one real. Landholders, persons employed in civil and military capacities, ecclesiastics, and all who exerercised any profession, or filled any office, were subjected to this tax; all being equally in-

terested in the common defence and independence of the Republic. This capitation tax was raised in the months of June and November. A loan of 125,000 pesos was also required of the merchants, landholders, and capitalists, each person's quota being according to his ability; and in case of any individual advancing more than 4000 pesos, an allowance was to be made him of 4 per cent, secured upon the national property and the funds of the Republic, and adjudging to the creditor, by way of payment, some of the existing public property in the department. Your Excellency also offered the favour of exemption from, or drawback upon import or export duties, to those who could lay claim to it, either through re-entry or special privilege, according to the circumstances or sums with which they had assisted the public treasury.

By these measures your Excellency not only gave effect to the decree of his Excellency the Liberator, even before the month of October, but also remitted at the same time a considerable sum of pesos to Lower Magdalena, and a cargo of flour: another of no less magnitude to the army of the south; a third to the tobacco factories, and others to the squadron. Your Excellency had the satisfaction of seeing the credit of the Government confirmed by the quickness with which a loan was effected; by the desires repeatedly manifested by numerous individuals of providing your Excellency with the necessary supplies for the

armies; and by the immediate offers of pecuniary supplies, greater even than were requisite—to be repaid when perfectly convenient to Government. This confidence your Excellency has acquired by the punctuality and good faith with which you have fulfilled all your engagements,—a punctuality which has completely dissipated all mistrust, and given those who possess the ability, the satisfaction of serving their country without prejudice to their individual interests.

The adjoined statements shew in detail the remittances which you have made to the different military bodies of the Republic; and the respective state of the capitation tax demonstrates the amount raised in the provinces upon which it has been imposed. The produce would have been much greater, had there been the same attention in the collecting as was observed in the civil governments of Antioquia and Bogota, and in the military government of Tunja; but other more important occupations rendered it impossible.

The incumbents have already commenced receiving certificates for payments in the exchequers of the departments; and in thus expediting them your Excellency has been aware of the particular benefit arising from them, in not depriving the treasury all at once of those sums, which, by entering it, will not only give freedom to the people, but to the creditors themselves fresh means of assisting the Republic.

Great have been the sacrifices of the people of Cundinamarca, most opportune and universal their efforts, but they have also been well directed, and have given existence to the Republic. Your Excellency's sole maxim is, *Salus populi, suprema lex.*

The soldier, the artisan, the landholder, the rich and the poor, all contemplate with admiration the majestic edifice of liberty, raised in an immense country, which but a few months previous was subjected to conquerors: they next hope for the immediate acknowledgment of the independence of Colombia, and forgetting their past sufferings, rouse themselves to fresh exertions. If all have suffered from the taxes and privations, all have participated in the glory of the Republic. In the short space of 14 months, almost invincible obstacles have been overcome, triumphs have been multiplied, victories almost incredible have been achieved, resources for immense exertions have been developed, and all the efforts of the Spaniards have been annihilated. The enemy has been compelled to sheath the sword, a wall has been opposed to devastation, and the promise of peace, which was not far from Colombia, has been forced from them. Peace, independence, and liberty, will be the reward of so many sacrifices,—blessings which at no distant period will be enjoyed by those who will proudly call themselves Colombians; and your Excellency will from that moment taste the indisputable

satisfaction of having essentially contributed to prosperity so universal, to glory so immortal.

Bogota, December 31. 1820.

Most excellent Sir, Alexandro Osorio, Secretary of war and finance; Most excellent Sir, the Vice-President General F. P. Santander.

MEMOIR of the Commissioner of the Office of the Interior and of Justice of the Department of Cundinamarca, presented to his Excellency the Vice-President the 31st December.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

GOVERNMENTS were established for the happiness of the people. This maxim, which emanates from national rights, and which has been sanctioned by those of all nations, can only be disavowed by tyrants: they only, considering themselves superior to the rest of mankind, have had the audacity to conceive, that societies and nations are as much their property as oxen are the farmer's, and that, like him, they may dispose of their subjects according to their arbitrary will and pleasure. They alone, declaring themselves emanations from the Deity, have dared to deny the relations existing between the government and the people, and to consider themselves as the only persons not responsible for their actions; pretending that they have received the sceptre,

power and authority, from Heaven. How different are the motives which actuate the chief of a Republic. Sensible that he is only the agent of the society, he regulates his actions by the laws: the general will is his guide, the public good the object of his cares, and the prosperity of the nation, both collectively and individually, the pole-star of his conduct. He knows that he has duties to fulfil, and certain objects to accomplish; that any negligence will be imputed to him, and that he is responsible for his misdeeds.

Such have been the truths by which your Excellency has been influenced in the administration of your department. Without independence, there is no country, no liberty, no republic. The principal duties, therefore, of a minister of Colombia, consist in freeing the people from the yoke of foreign slavery. All the efforts of your Excellency have been directed to this noble end. —The organization of troops, the regulating and application of the public revenues, the extraordinary taxes, which, although moderate, have been devoted to this object; three victories in the south, two in Magdalena, and two in Antioquia; are the best proofs that your Excellency has faithfully fulfilled the charge confided to you, of insuring the independence of Cundinamarca. Although a portion of the territory has been polluted by the tread of hostile feet, their advantages were but momentary and ephemeral, and repeated defeats must have convinced the enemy

that there exists a Government, whose constant efforts are devoted to the defence of a people determined never to suffer a second time an ignominious yoke.

Although occupied in consummating and perfecting the great work of independence, you have not neglected the other duties imposed upon you. His Excellency the Liberator has justly remarked, that the Revolution has subverted the very foundations of social order. Let us again, upon their ruins, raise the temple of liberty, the basis of which is a due observance of the laws. While Sparta, Rome, and Athens, paid a due respect to their institutions, liberty stood firm, and grandeur, power, and glory, were preserved pure and uncontaminated; but they hastened with rapid strides towards their decline, as soon as they discovered an indifference and contempt for the virtues of their ancestors. These it is the duty of all governors to excite and cherish; for, as Montesquieu observes, "In republics the chiefs form the institutions, and the institutions afterwards form chiefs." The above mentioned republics would never have given birth to Miltiades, Aristides, Cincinnatus, Camillus, Leonidas, and Lysander, had they not been preceded by Solon, Brutus, Publicola, and Lycurgus. Aspiring to secure the happiness of Cundinamarca, and to consolidate the freedom of Colombia, your Excellency has therefore caused the laws to be enforced, the rights of man to be respected, justice

to be administered with promptness and impartiality, and the conduct of inferior magistrates to be scrutinized: in short, your Excellency has strengthened the hand of Government by every means suggested by an ardent desire for the public welfare and national prosperity. The public will judge, by the following account of your patriotic cares, whether your Excellency has in this instance discharged the high trust confided to you.—

The Interior.

Under the Spanish Government, New Grenada and Venezuela constituted two distinct provinces, governed by different chiefs, but subject to the same laws. In the same year, and within a short time of each other, they both proclaimed their freedom; but as a similarity of sentiments existed between them, as they were both actuated by the sacred ardour of patriotism, they necessarily adopted the determination of depending only upon their own resources. A disunion therefore took place, and each erected itself into a republic, and formed its own particular constitution. Misfortune taught them that they should assist each other; and this necessity of procuring assistance drew still closer the ties of friendship, and a more intimate union was beginning to take place. This plan was rendered abortive by causes of which no one is ignorant, and which grief prevents me from adverting to.

But his Excellency the President overcame every difficulty. He annihilated the Spanish power; and the victory of Boyaca led to the union of Grenada and Venezuela; an union which only his Excellency could have accomplished. The liberator of both nations, both owed to him their political existence, and their enjoyment of natural rights, and a sublime gratitude concentred in his person the vows and wishes of all. Under these happy circumstances, he conceived the idea of fraternizing two nations of whom he was the common father. He explained his plan to the Congress, who adopted it; and from that moment Colombia arose with the fundamental law of the 17th December 1819.

When this arrangement was communicated to your Excellency, you immediately perceived the advantages and benefits accruing from it. Your Excellency foresaw that an union of forces, an accumulation of resources, must render us formidable at home, and respectable abroad; but you would not, however, risk a decree of obedience, till you had consulted with the general authorities of the department. Alive to the importance of the union, which they considered as intimately allied to independence, all the magistrates resolved unanimously that the law should be carried into effect, reserving its confirmation, revisal, or alteration, for the General Congress of Colombia. This caution was very just and fitting for the consolidation of the association, which, as it contain-

ed a solemn pact, required the free, express, and formal consent of all the contracting parties.

The publication of the fundamental law has no less proved the wisdom of the Congress in approving it, than that of your Excellency in superintending its accomplishment. It has been received, throughout every province, with the utmost joy and transport: It has been proclaimed with the greatest solemnity; and all good men, all to whom the happiness of their country is dear, see expressed in it their sentiments and wishes. Cundinamarca, on this occasion, has displayed a moderation, disinterestedness, and love for the public good, of which few people have given examples, and which still fewer will imitate. It has triumphed over petty passions and minor interests, over the enemies of liberty and independence, who placed all their hopes of subjugating us in our divisions and misunderstandings. The sincere desire of the union displayed itself still more in this department, when your Excellency, in your proclamation of the 17th of last January, called upon the provinces to elect their representatives for the General Congress of Colombia. Overcoming all the obstacles which presented themselves to those who were then free, they verified the election as soon as it was in their power; while those who have since obtained their freedom are at present engaged in this patriotic work, and, by their eagerness, prove how great is their desire to see the general represen-

tation of the Republic united, and the legislative assembly composed both of Venezuelans and Cundinamarqueses. So happy a commencement inspires the hope, that the Congress will establish the union upon a solid and permanent basis, and that it will form a constitution, which, while it secures the rights of the people both collectively and individually, and gives force and consistency to Government, will silence those who have asserted that a Republic is incompatible with an extended territory.

The elections for functionaries has ever been a cause of dissension and discord in Republics. In Athens they were very frequent; it may be said they were born with the Republic. Themistocles, Aristides, and Alcibiades, continued them; and they lasted even till the time of Demosthenes, when the glory of Athens was approaching its decline. The *comitia* of Rome were the field for seduction, intrigue, and bribery. Envy, ambition, and dissension, thus introduced, were the causes of the greatest excesses, produced civil wars, and at length the destruction of liberty and independence. Amongst us there are none ambitious of command, as at Athens, nor of power, as at Rome; our virtuous and reflecting citizens equally disavow the corruption of the Romans, and the inconstancy of the Athenians; but as all men are influenced by those passions inherent in their nature, and which are liable to produce confusion and discord, it was the duty of

Government to find means for preventing their effects. Your Excellency has communicated them to the governors of provinces, who have fulfilled them without interfering with the freedom of suffrage, but, on the contrary, have rather secured it. In all the elections the popular voice only has been heard, and it has generally fallen upon citizens eminent either for their abilities or virtues. Happy Cundinamarca, if she continues always faithful to this mode of electing her representatives!

The creation of Colombia should not be the cause of strife, sorrow, or regret, but, on the contrary, it should inspire joy and congratulation. A law was therefore necessary which should operate upon private families, as the union had done upon the people politically considered; one that should quiet and remove the alarm of those whose relatives had been subjected either to pains and penalties, either for having emigrated from the fear inspired by the Spanish Government, or for having entered into a compromise with it; one that, by throwing a veil over past errors, would indemnify the lives of those who should claim its protection. With this view, the Congress drew up the *indulto* of the 12th January of the present year, which your Excellency has not only executed to the letter, but has even exceeded. Not content with having impressed upon the magistrates the necessity of its punctual execution, your Excellency has visited the prisons of this

capital in person, and pardoned those who, for political crimes, or for others not included in the list of exceptions, had been imprisoned: your Excellency has permitted those who had been banished for their bad conduct to return to their country, and granted safe conduct to all who solicited it, without any distinction between Spaniards or Americans. Your Excellency has received all who presented themselves with courteous affability, and fulfilled the views and intentions of the legislative power, by affording protection to all who claimed it from the Government.

It is certain, that this sanction of the Congress was not necessary for your Excellency to manifest your inclination for measures of clemency and humanity.—As the province of Antioquia is bounded by that of Carthagena, which, at the commencement of the year, was in the possession of the Spaniards, the Government considered it necessary to take some measures of precaution in the interior, conformably to the orders you had received. The banishment of some persons had been effected, but others against whom the same decree had been issued, fled to the mountains. Your Excellency guaranteed the lives and property of all refugees of Antioquia who should present themselves within thirty days, and should swear obedience to the Government of the Republic. This act of grace was productive of the best effects; and your Excellency, a few days after, had the satisfaction of knowing, that the

inhabitants of Antioquia generally, and without exception, had devoted their services to the defence of the country, by crowding, with the greatest eagerness, into the field of battle.

If an act of grace were necessary to the establishment of Colombia, an act of justice was no less so. When the whole Republic respired liberty, when it had proclaimed the rights of man, and declared that no man could become the property of another, to have permitted slavery would have been contrary to those principles, would have clashed with its actions, and sapped one of the principal foundations of the social edifice. Upon this basis, therefore, the Congress sanctioned the manumission of slaves by the law of the 11th of last January, which declared all free by right, till they could become so in fact, by giving indemnities to their masters; while all who entered into the service of the Republic were made free both by right and in fact. This law, as wise as it was philanthropic, not only gave the Republic a great number of citizens, who were before the property not of the Republic but of a few individuals, but relieved it from those inconveniencies to which the austere legislator of Sparta could apply no other remedy than that of secretly dispatching numbers of Helots, lest their numbers should exceed those of freemen. Abominable cruelty! necessary, however, and perhaps unavoidable in a state, the very constitution of which contained the seeds of its own destruction.

When this law was, by your Excellency's orders, published in the provinces of the department, a collision naturally took place between the rights of the slaves and those of their masters. The consequences of this might have been fatal, if your Excellency had not applied an immediate remedy. The slaves of Cauca and Choco, considering themselves absolutely free, abandoned the service of their masters, who wished to compel them to remain with them, as they had not received an indemnification for their loss. The former fled, and the latter pursued them, and employed every effort to reduce them again under their dominion. The governors, (and principally those of Cauca, where the affair was most serious, as the slaves were disposed to commit great excesses), not knowing what measures to adopt, consulted your Excellency as to the line of conduct to be pursued under circumstances so critical. Your Excellency recommended to them the exact fulfilment of the law, which holds out to slaves the hope of absolute liberty, and to wait the decisions of the General Congress of Colombia; at the same time declaring, that in the interval things must remain in the state in which they then were. Your Excellency also directed them to compel all runaways to return to the service of their masters; and for that purpose empowered the Governor of Cauca to inflict even death upon all who should resist the order. Complaints were instant-

ly silenced, disorders ceased, tranquillity was restored, and both parties waited for the decision of the Congress without murmuring,—the one from the hope of liberty, and the other from that of indemnity.

The fundamental law of Colombia introduced an order of things altogether new, and, as the body which sanctioned it said, gave the Republic a fresh existence, and a colossal form. It was necessary to give to this new created power a mode of being, and that all the parts of the great whole should be organized, and each one have its peculiar functions assigned it. Thus it was framed by the Congress; and a provisional regulation, bearing date the 3d January, detailed the duties of the Vice-Presidents of the departments, and defined their powers and authority. Those which had been conferred upon your Excellency, by the most excellent the President of the Republic then ceased, and you could only for the future exercise those assigned you by this law. In fact, it has been the rule of your Excellency's measures since the 29th February, on which you received it, and ordered it to be circulated in the provinces of the department.

Your Excellency being thus constituted the immediate agent of the executive power, and the organ of communication and execution of the orders of the most excellent the President of the Republic, it became your duty and obligation to

practise and fulfil in the department the measures pointed out by his Excellency, who, by his superior talents, capacious mind, extraordinary discernment, and indefatigable attention, saw all, observed all, and arranged every thing with order and regularity. The continual journeys of his Excellency through these provinces had caused him to observe the decay of agriculture, industry, and commerce: he undertook to resuscitate and nourish these sources of national wealth, and immediately published the regulation of the 21st May, by which he announced the establishment of provincial juntas, composed of merchants, traders, and landed proprietors. There can be no doubt, that if the governors take a lively interest in these establishments, and the juntas, penetrated with the importance of their institution, fulfil their duties, agriculture will be seen to revive, industry will be encouraged, and commerce considerably increased: the roads will become more practicable and commodious, rivers navigable, and desert lands be crowned with fertility and verdure: idleness will disappear, and those whose sloth had converted them into the locusts of the state, being directed to useful employments, will form a new population, and will maintain their families with the fruits of their labours, or with the produce of their trade. Happy constitution, what advantages may you not produce!—Opulent merchants, wealthy proprietors, it is for you, who are called to support it, to

manifest your patriotism, and wishes for the public happiness. The Father of the country has recommended it to you; follow his example and fulfil his precepts.—Yes, they shall be fulfilled, and your Excellency has taken the readiest means that they shall be so.

Having received this decree, your Excellency pressed upon the governors-commandant, both general and political, the necessity of instantly giving effect to it. The first were charged with its publication, and the latter with its execution; so that, by proceeding thus united, its results might be more happy and efficacious. Many transactions arising from the value of land your Excellency referred to the investigation of the Juntas, in order to stimulate them to fulfil the object of their establishment. The governors, in whom all the necessary efficiency has not been observed, have been lately admonished by your Excellency; and as at the close of the year the Juntas are required to give an account of the projects they have formed, it may be supposed that the honour of the individuals composing them will be a motive sufficiently strong to induce them to undertake something useful.

The views of his Excellency the President, although so extended as to comprehend the good of society at large, are yet reduced to a small circle by his Excellency when the same common good requires it. This was the case when his Excellency, reflecting upon the means of giving

an impulse to the agriculture, industry, and commerce of Cundinamarca, extended also his paternal cares over those unhappy individuals, whose miserable state and wretched situation had rendered worthy the attentions of a liberal government. Although the laws had wished to protect them, personal interests had succeeded in eluding and in nullifying the favour which these had dispensed to them. Liberty had been endeavoured to be violated, by forcing them to serve without being recompensed for their labours. The rights of the state had been invaded by the usurpations and the wrongs with which caprice and arbitrary power had loaded the common lands, and by the contributions which had been exacted under pious pretences: never had these unfortunates received the least education, for fear lest, their natural stupidity being removed, they should be able to reclaim their rights;—they had never been inspired with the desire of obtaining property, by dividing lands among them, and by obliging them to cultivate them; in short, slavery, with all its concomitant horrors, weighed heavily upon them. It was fit that the Liberator should break the chains which fettered these unhappy people, by causing a discontinuance of those abuses to which they were the victims, and by preparing them, by instruction, for the class of men and citizens. Such were the objects his Excellency proposed to himself, when, in the regulation of the 20th May, he declared that all obligations were to be

treated conformably to the laws of each country; that the lands should be divided amongst the families, giving to each as much as they could conveniently cultivate; that the remainder of the lands should be farmed, and the produce of the rents should be applied to the payment of the masters of the public schools; that the natives should cultivate for themselves the land allotted them, and should be able to let it by a formal contract, authorized by the civil judge; that they should not be subjected to any ecclesiastical contributions; that no one should employ them without satisfying them for their labour according to their agreement; and that they should not be interrupted or hindered in the exercise of their talents and industry, in trading with their produce and effects, or in attending the markets and fairs which they preferred for their greater convenience.

This order met with the same prompt obedience as that of the 21st May, of which we have before spoken; but your Excellency not only communicated it to the military and civil governors, but also to the discreet Director of Arzobispado, that he on his part might give it effect, and assist the arrangement made by the magistrates for its execution. In this the civil governors of Antioquia and of Pamplona having met with some obstacles, consulted your Excellency, who with prompt decision facilitated the means of completing this interesting regulation: and that it should pro-

duce a greater effect, and be more cordially received by the natives, who, accustomed to slavery, almost adored the fetters which enchained them, your Excellency awarded them a portion of the taxes, and made still greater concessions to those who represented their sufferings, misery, and constant services. Interest will effect that which perhaps could not be attained by reason, which, in oppressed and enslaved beings, is always feeble.

The benefit of public schools being granted to the natives, your Excellency considered that the latter classes of society had an equal claim to partake of it; and you opened them to all by the regulation of the 6th October. Every city, every town, every parish, must have a school, supported by their own or their neighbours' contributions, and directed by the sacred duty of forwarding the education and instruction of the children given them by Providence. The direction of these public seminaries your Excellency vested in the civil governors, empowering them to make all the internal arrangements, as far as regarded instruction, rewards and punishments, recommending them to remove all opposing obstacles, and making them responsible for all the evils which might affect the public cause, by their negligence or inattention in a point of such transcendent importance. In order also to make this benefit as general as possible, your Excellency called upon all regular prelates to establish a school in each convent, according to the desire of the apostolic

see: they consented, and your Excellency decreed it. The good effects which will accrue from these establishments are beyond calculation. The sciences, the arts, agriculture, and industry, will advance in proportion as the first rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, become more general. The study of the rights and duties of men will produce citizens, and the doctrines of religion and Christian morality will form their manners; and both the church and state will be furnished with subjects who can be employed to the advantage of both.

But these regulations would have been useless, or in a great measure ineffectual, had not your Excellency fixed the 19th August for the regulation and organization of the municipal funds. The commercial juntas, always proceeding in conjunction with the corporation, are to decree rewards from the civic funds, to those who shall improve any branch of agriculture or industry. These funds also are to furnish means of repairing and making public roads, and for the salaries of the masters of public schools in the cities and towns. As the funds of some cities have been so diminished by maladministration, as to be totally inadequate to the first necessities, in order to reorganize them, and make them productive, your Excellency renewed the provisions of the order for intendants, and, conformably to it, decreed, that all the branches of these funds should be put to public auction; that committees should

be formed for the purpose of collecting and regulating the application of this property; that stewards should be named for the purpose of collecting it; that coffers should be provided for its reception; that none should be paid away without an order signed by the whole committee; that no extraordinary expense should be incurred without the approbation of the government of the department; and that, finally, the committees and collectors should hand in accounts, to be inspected by the corporation, and approved by the ministers of the public treasury, which approval shall be notified by a certificate from the superior chamber of accounts. The responsibility of these magistrates, and their zeal for the public good, promise the happiest results; and the municipal funds being once regulated, the execution of the decree of the 21st May will be easy, and its fulfilment more expeditious than that of the 6th October.

With the establishment of public schools, your Excellency began to lay the foundations of the temple of Apollo and Minerva; but much was wanting to raise it to its perfection, and before undertaking so great a task, it was necessary to remove the obstacles which presented themselves. There existed a very serious one; it was, that the seminaries and colleges were not under the inspection of Government, as they should be at all times, as it is evident that the youth there brought up are educated, not for the church alone, but

for the good of the state, and that their instruction should not be solely confined to the chant, the morals, the liturgy, and the holy Scripture, as prescribed by the Council of Trent, but that it should be extended to the natural and abstract sciences, and even to the study of rights. This your Excellency represented to his Excellency the President, who, by the decree of the 20th June, placed the patronage and government of the houses of education and study, including the seminaries, in the hands of the Vice-Presidents of the departments, at the same time retaining in favour of the priests, the right of naming the seminarists, and the exercise of their duties with respect to them.

This decree settled the claims of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities over the seminaries; and your Excellency, the better to fix them, and to avoid all matter of dispute and contention in the affair, and at the same time regulate the order and economy of that of the capital, made the decree of the 8th July, by which the appointment of rector, vice-rector, and fellows, as well as the professors of Latin, philosophy, and civil and canon law, was vested in the hands of the Government, reserving for the ecclesiastical prelate the appointment of professors of theology, as being more intimately connected with the seminary. The term of service of the rector, vice-rector, and fellows, was then fixed; the regulations for the nominations were also established, as well as

the rules to be observed in the appointment of professors: The cases in which the ecclesiastical power could interfere, were clearly pointed out. The learned Provisor of the Arzobispado hastened to obey those decrees as soon as they were communicated to him; and your Excellency immediately provided for filling the vacant professorships with persons who would be more exact in the discharge of their important duties, than those who had occupied them in the interim.

Your Excellency, thus authorized to direct the colleges and houses of education, undertook to introduce a greater uniformity in the method of study, which was very desultory and defective. The students learnt Latin without first knowing their native tongue; they finished philosophy, law, and theology, without first knowing the history of those branches of literature, their origin, by whom invented and cultivated, the analogies existing among them, to what objects they were directed, and what advantages society had derived from their introduction: they terminated their studies, passed their degrees, and entered into society, without ever having heard of rhetoric or oratory; and while their minds were stuffed with texts, doctrines, and authorities, they were ignorant in what spot of the earth they lived, what rights they possessed, what obligations they owed to society, as men and citizens, and, in fact, had not the least notion or power of writing a correct sentence.

Desirous that the youth should acquire in the colleges every class of useful knowledge, by the act of the 16th October your Excellency formed a new plan of studies, intended to correct the errors and supply the deficiencies of the ancient method. The Castilian Grammar was to be acquired before the Latin; lectures were to be delivered in rhetoric, and in Latin and philosophy; the study of the Belles Lettres was to be preceded by that of their history; the young men were to learn arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and civil and military architecture; at an early period they were to be accustomed to form discourses upon subjects proposed to them; and emulation, the origin and cause of progress and advancement, was to be promoted by annual examinations, and by public and private theses among a great number of students. In order to secure the assistance of the professors in this plan, your Excellency obliged them by an oath, to express in the certificates they should give their pupils, that they had passed through the several studies before referred to; and appointed a director of studies who should pass these certificates, without which they could not obtain their degrees. May Heaven grant that the directors and teachers of youth in these colleges may further the views of the Government, and contribute their part to perfect the public education, which, in the opinion of Socrates, was the best service that could be rendered to the state!

Although your Excellency, in laying down the new plan of studies, ordered it to be observed throughout all the convents, as much as their institutions would allow, yet you judged it expedient to repeat, in the decree of the 7th of November, that as far as it regarded the convent of San Francisco de Tunja, it was not conditional alone, but absolute. That useful community, animated by the most lively zeal for the public good, and desirous of propagating the intelligence and liberal principles which its worthy sons possessed, and of contributing to the happiness of the province in which it was situated, begged your Excellency's permission to teach publicly, philosophy, theology, and all the other studies which are indispensable for obtaining degrees. Your Excellency having heard the application of the university, granted its prayer, happy in being thus enabled to give a proof of your esteem for the virtues of San Francis, and to reward the inhabitants of Tunja for the constant sacrifices they have made in the cause of liberty. The university, therefore, undertook to teach the above-mentioned studies; and that they should produce as quick an effect as possible, a Latin school was established in the same convent, and a master appointed whose salary was to be paid from the public funds. The direction of this establishment was intrusted to the civil governor of the province; and for its better regulation it was ordered, that the master should annually present a

list of the matriculated students, that there might be annual disputations before a person named by the Government, who should report the merits of both parties, and issue the necessary diplomas. If fathers of families duly appreciate the benefits your Excellency has bestowed upon them, Tunja in a few years will enjoy the advantages which are inseparable from civilization and knowledge.

How useful to the Republic would be the multiplication of similar establishments! If in each province of Cundinamarca there were at least one, the study of certain branches, and particularly that of humanities, would have become general; abilities, which for want of cultivation remain unnoticed, would burst from obscurity; young people, who, for want of means to go to the colleges, cannot gain any instruction, would receive it in their own country, and would thus be enabled to prosecute with advantage the arts, or commerce, or even to fill the offices of state. These considerations induced your Excellency to wish to make the favour you dispensed to Tunja general for the people of every department; and you had even endeavoured to grant it to Socorro, where the convent abandoned by the Capuchins might have been converted into a college; but obstacles presented themselves, and your Excellency knows that all is not to be attained at the commencement. Time will, however, do much; and the General Congress will complete what your Excellency has begun.

Besides, of what use is it, Excellent Sir, that people become enlightened, if they are continually exposed to cruel disorders, by which the lives of individuals are endangered. The Republic has a far greater interest in the increase and preservation of men, than in their instruction; for, as a sacred writer observes, in the multitude of people consists the dignity of a government. Your Excellency was actuated by these sentiments, when, by a regulation of the 22d May, you decreed the establishment of an hospital in the province of Socorro, and entreated those to enter who had been exposed to the contagion of the elephantiasis. In truth, the disease of San Lazaro is very alarming, and is the more dangerous, as its duration is great. In order to arrest its progress, your Excellency ordered the civil governments of Tunja, Pamplona, Mariquita, Neyva, Socorro, and Bogota, to collect all diseased persons living in their respective provinces, and send them to the hospital, where, conformably to your Excellency's orders, they were separated from all intercourse with the healthy, and assisted in spiritual matters by a capuchin, in their disease by a physician, and in their wants by a commissioner, to be named by the civil governor of Socorro, whom your Excellency fully empowered to establish this hospital, and to superintend its direction.

This commissioner has the right to take a sixth part of the ninths (*noveno*) of hospitals, and the amount of a pint in every gallon of brandy which is sold in the administration, and three-fourths per cent paid by the collectors: these are the funds appropriated to the maintenance of the patients, as well as the support of the doctor and chaplain. Your Excellency has omitted nothing that could contribute to the speedy establishment of so useful an institution: you regulated its internal arrangements, ordered the form of the edifice, and designated the spot where it should be erected; you completed its erection, and gave the most impressive advice to the magistrate commissioned to superintend it. If the event should be as your Excellency desires, Cundinamarca will be freed from a plague, which, although not so active, was as cruel and horrible as that which depopulated Athens in the time of Pericles.

While your Excellency was thus endeavouring to stop the ravages of the elephantiasis, another plague appeared in the northern provinces, which called forth the attention of the Government. The small-pox made great ravages in Socorro, Tunja, and Pamplona. The governors having represented this to you, your Excellency, by way of remedy, sent them a third time vaccine *pus*, accompanied by instructions as to the remedies to be applied. The effects of the disease were thus stopped, and vaccinated children were then sent

to the capital, who, by contact, communicated the remedy to those people who were suffering under the disease: express orders were also given to preserve and propagate the remedy as much as possible. The public treasury contributed nothing on this occasion, and your Excellency met the expenses by extraordinary resources.

A few days after, the province of Socorro presented itself overwhelmed with grief, and, with accents of wretchedness and despair, implored anew the assistance and compassionate regards of the Government:—it had been the prey of a dreadful disease, which first attacked the freemen who were in the military service, and had then communicated itself to the inhabitants of Vara-Florida and Socorro, where in a short time its progress was most rapid. Your Excellency heard the complaints of these people, and relieved them by sending from this capital, at the public expense, a physician well known for his talents and judgment, who, assisted by the governor-general commandant of the province, took such decisive measures that the disease almost immediately disappeared. Your Excellency also adopted with complete success precautionary means to prevent the disease from spreading to the neighbouring provinces.

These have not been the only precautions of your Excellency for the purpose of relieving suffering humanity. At the same time that you established an hospital, and provided for the preser-

vation of the health of each citizen, and the relief of those who had lost it, you directed the civil governors of Socorro and Pamplona to visit the hospitals of San Gil, Vara-Florida, and Giron, the management of which was but ill understood. The application of the funds was not very correct; the attention to the sick not very particular; and it was necessary to do away with some abuses introduced by negligence and carelessness, to the prejudice of the unfortunates who had betaken themselves for cure to these charitable houses. The commissioners being nominated, received orders to inspect, examine, and investigate, either by themselves or by persons in their confidence; to make the reforms which they judged necessary, and to render an account to your Excellency of the result of the commission, in order that, upon these data, measures might be taken for the benefit of the patients.

Although the commissioners' report has not been received, yet your Excellency being persuaded that partial measures never produce a general effect, and that the hospitals will never have able practitioners till a body be formed zealous for the honour of the profession, has formed the plan of establishing a medical board, in whom the power of examination shall be invested. The study of medicine will then commence; botany, chemistry, and pharmacy will be taught amongst us; regular shops will be opened, unskilful apothecaries will be discouraged, and

those articles which are now neglected will receive order and regularity. Some difficulties, and principally the want of funds, have prevented your Excellency from establishing the medical board; but the love of humanity, the common interest, and the general happiness, will enable your Excellency to overcome what appears almost invincible.

But while thus occupied by so many objects, and engaged in their organization, others of a different class, but of far greater interest to society, demanded prompt remedies and decisive measures to prevent their fatal consequences. The bishop of Popayan, not content with having abandoned his diocese, prohibited under pain of excommunication the ecclesiastical and metropolitan chapter from naming a vicar; and this with the malicious design of producing anarchy in the church, of making his own presence desirable, and of inducing the unwary to declare for the Spanish Government, and desert the banners of the Republic, whose friends and adherents he declared excommunicated. There was every thing to fear from so horrible a seduction, in which the weapons of the church were employed against those who had proclaimed their rights, and had fought for them; but your Excellency, in order to destroy and annihilate it at one blow, availed yourself of the same arms, supporting them by reason and justice, by the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and the canonical institutions. The learned provisor

of Arzobispado, at the request of your Excellency, and with the approbation of the theologians and canons, addressed certain exhortations to the bishop of Popayan; proving, that the cause of liberty in no way opposed the precepts of the gospel; that the patriots were not deficient either in the doctrines or the practice of Christianity; and that the censures fulminated by that prelate in matters purely political, were vain, null, and of no effect.

The fears and apprehensions were in a great measure calmed by this declaration, emanating from a legitimate authority, more extensive in some cases than that of the bishop, and which could correct, reform, and recall its measures; but the root of the evil still remained, the tempest had not entirely passed over. The author of those censures was still acknowledged in his diocese, and even was so by your Excellency, who endeavoured to prevail upon him to return. There was no other jurisdiction but his own; and yet at the same time discord and dissension reared themselves in the church which God had confided to him. Strange paradox, to exist and not exist at the same time! a paradox which was reserved for Señor Ximenes alone to reconcile. Being convinced that no measures could be kept with this prelate; that it was impossible to treat upon any terms with an avowed enemy of the Republic; and that it was necessary to annihilate his influence, and insure the public tranquillity,—your

Excellency, availing yourself of the powers granted by the laws in such case, and especially the strongest of all—the public welfare, expelled this prelate from the territory of Colombia, and on the 11th January decreed his banishment, and the confiscation of his temporalities.

The surprise of Popayan by the royal troops paralyzed for a short time the effects of these measures. The bishop returned with Calzada; and the conduct which he then manifested, proved more and more your Excellency's prudence in banishing him. He came, but not to console his flock, to instruct and edify it; but to terrify, oppress, and destroy it. He prohibited, and made all the curates of the province of Cauca swear to enforce the prohibition, the administering the sacraments to the friends of independence, even in case of death. So scandalous an abuse in a minister of peace and conciliation, obliged your Excellency to adopt the most efficacious and vigorous means to prevent its consequences; and thus having recovered the province which had been the theatre of this civil and religious war, you published the decree above referred to, and desired the learned provisor of Arzobispado, that, by virtue of the authority vested by the canons in the metropolitans to supply the negligence of the suffragans, he would nominate a vicar-general of the bishopric of Popayan. The order was complied with; the nomination was made, and fell upon an ecclesiastic eminent for

his learning, virtues, and devotion to the Government, and to those faithful ministers charged with executing its orders. His measures have proved the prudence of his election: he has filled up the rectorships of Choco and Antioquia, as your Excellency had recommended; he has, at the request of your Excellency, restored to their cures those whom the bishop had dispossessed; and has re-established that peace and tranquillity so much desired by the church of Popayan.

The ecclesiastical affairs of this diocese being thus regulated, your Excellency directed your attention to those of Arzobispado, which called for the protection of the Government. Many intolerable evils had arisen from the benefices not being provided for permanently. Benefices *ad interim* were not protected against canonical prohibitions. Deserving clergymen were without advancement, to the great prejudice of justice and the public cause, while many parishes were totally deserted for some years, which was a scandal to religion and Christian morality; and all the archbishoprics appeared on the ruins of an edifice which had once been noble and magnificent. Your Excellency undertook to raise it anew, and to put an end to those abuses which had thus undermined it; and for this purpose, as soon as the provisional law of the 3d January was received, which declares, that for the present and the future there shall be a concordat with the apostolic see, the Vice-Presidents of the depart-

ments confined themselves, in ecclesiastical provisions, to express their opinion whether the provision did or did not meet with their approbation. Your Excellency also required the learned provisor to proceed to fill up the vacant benefices, conformably to the instructions of the Council of Trent upon this head. The learned provisor being convinced of the expediency of the measures adopted by your Excellency, proceeded to nominate to the vacant benefices; but this remedy would still have been insufficient, nor would the clergy have been satisfied, had not your Excellency declared, by a decree of the 17th August, that the Government did not recognize the emigrant priests as curates, and that the cures obtained under the Spanish Government would be permanently provided for. By this declaration your Excellency established the right, that no people are obliged to maintain those whose country is at war with them; that no one should enjoy a benefice in which he is not employed: the right also of the Government to protect the church was never better applied than in bettering its condition, while the depriving the non-residents of their cures was fully justified by the canons. The ecclesiastical prelate required by your Excellency to make the same declaration, dictated it in effect; but before proceeding to issue edicts and citations against those ecclesiastics, their contumacy was proved. Thus they were legally and canonically deprived of their

cures, which, with the others that were vacant, were filled up according to the desire of your Excellency. Thus the archbishopric has been provided with regular ministers; thus the canonical rules have been observed; and thus the clergy have received, by the exertions of Government, a part of that reward to which their patriotic services entitled them.

In truth, the ecclesiastics of the department deserve the respect of the Government. Animated by their love and devotion for the cause of independence, they exerted all the influence of their ministry to animate the people to a defence of their rights; they have informed them in what they consist; they have instructed them in their duties, and have set the example of obedience in the faithful fulfilment of the measures dictated by your Excellency. They have willingly borne their share in all the loans and contributions imposed by your Excellency; and not being satisfied with the sacrifices they made in common with other citizens, they disinterestedly gave up for the service of the state the ninths (*novenos*), when required so to do by your Excellency. The patriotism of the clergy was then seen to rise even to enthusiasm. The most noble emulation for serving the Republic appears to have arisen among them: some ceded their property for a certain number of years; others during the continuance of the war; others at the disposition of Government: some gave up what not

only they had acquired during many years' services, but also their future gains; while others offered annual donations in addition to that of their ninths (*novenos*). The French National Assembly, in its session of the 4th and 5th August 1789, did not witness from the ecclesiastics such a proof of public spirit, so great an ardour for liberty, or such generous and disinterested sentiments. Happy are those people whose concerns are under such civic ministers! But let us respect justice. The disposition of the clergy in favour of the republican cause would not have been so clearly manifested, had not the ecclesiastical authorities, their governors, taken the most lively interest in the triumph of independence, and seconded it with all their energies. Those of the ecclesiastical chapter, as well as the regular prelates of this metropolis, and the provisor of Pompayna, have been most extraordinary. The exertions of the prelate of Arzobispado your Excellency is yourself intimately acquainted with. In short, what has been required of them that they have refused? The most excellent the President of the Republic required them to send Pastorales: they sent them. Your Excellency desired them to direct their prayers to the Holy See: they did so. Your Excellency exhorted them to direct the curates to offer up public prayers for the prosperity of the Republic: it was done. Your Excellency required them to convoke a meeting for the purpose of filling up vacant benefices: they

convoked one. Your Excellency desired them to declare null the excommunications of the bishop of Popayan: they declared them to be so. This harmony, so necessary in a nascent state, has admirably contributed to consolidate internal peace, and to establish order and tranquillity. Praise be to those ministers of the sanctuary, who know so well how to fulfil their social duties! May these apostles of the liberty and independence of Colombia be for ever honoured! May they enjoy the fruits of their labours and sacrifices, and may future generations rank them among the number of their liberators.

So much deference on the part of the clergy and its prelates, demanded some return and remuneration from the Government. Your Excellency has, therefore, in all your undertakings, caused the ecclesiastical authority and canonical discipline to be respected. It was for this reason, that, in all matters affecting the church or its ministers, your Excellency has not undertaken any measures without the agreement and consent of the respective prelates: that, to favour the clergy, your Excellency did not exact the archbishoprical fourths; the participation of which the State had an undoubted right to insist upon, from the mitres having been abandoned: that, to prevent the decay of sacred edifices, your Excellency ordered the civic authorities to guarantee their repairs, notwithstanding the necessities of the State required them to

remit the ninths (*novenos*) belonging to each department or parish, in order that public worship might not be injured: that, finally, to preserve to the church its substantial rights, which consist in a belief of its doctrines and discipline, your Excellency took means to prevent the introduction and progress of impiety. Cares such as these should convince the clergy, that the Government respects and venerates them, as well as their institutions,—should give them an idea of the advantages which will accrue to them when the Republic shall be firmly established,—and should open to them a happy prospect in the triumphs of independence. If the clergy remain true to the Government, it will open to them the way to honours and dignities, of which they had been deprived under the colonial system, and under a government which rarely rewarded the merits and virtues of Americans.

The exertions of the clergy, and of the other classes of Colombia, are, of themselves alone, capable of acquiring independence, but not of consolidating it; for this purpose, it is necessary to co-operate with the other parts of America, who, like ourselves, are struggling for liberty. Let us be undeceived; while Spain rules over even a foot of earth in the New World, she will never desist from making war upon the Independents, nor will she ever permit them to enjoy the fruits of peace. Union, therefore, is indispensable; and the closer it is, the more effective will

be the results. Actuated by this motive, your Excellency has taken care to establish and maintain frequent communications with the Governments of Chili and Rio de la Plata; and a reciprocal harmony and good understanding has been effected. The equilibrium of the universe, as one of our writers calls that harmony which is the safeguard of the American Republics, is already begun, and will terminate in a general confederation, which will guarantee us from those disasters of which Europe has been the theatre, from the opposing views of its governments.

Such have been the measures your Excellency has advised, and the means you have taken to regulate the interior of the department, and to insure that independence which was gained at Boyaca: but all would have been useless, if, at the same time, others had not been adopted to regulate and meliorate the administration of justice, without which, says an eloquent writer, states are nothing but large societies of thieves.

JUSTICE.

THE administration of justice is considered by Mr Tomas as the most interesting function of humanity. Indeed, what can be more honourable for men, than to employ their reason in repairing the wrongs done to their fellow-creatures;

than to avail themselves of the law to succour the weak, maintain the rights of each individual, and preserve unhurt those of all; restraining the passions, correcting vices, and supporting innocence and virtue? If we remount to the origin of society, we shall there find men assembling together for the purpose of avoiding violence, and of seeking an asylum against injustice. The social contract had no other object, no other view than the formation of governments. The magistrates are therefore bound by their own interests, by duty, and their obligations to society, to administer justice; and this conviction has influenced your Excellency in the formation of the following provisions:—

The Government of the Republic being re-established, nothing was more just than to restore to their former rights and properties, those who had been deprived of them by the Spanish Government for their adherence to the cause of liberty. If the sequestration had still continued; if those who had caused the spoliation, and those who had contributed to it, purchasing the confiscated property, had been suffered to remain in quiet possession, it might then be a very natural conclusion, that oppression was lawful, and that patriotism was a crime. His Excellency the Liberator hastened to prevent such dreadful consequences by the decree of the 15th September 1819, by which the confiscated property of patriots must be given up to them, although in the

possession of a third or fourth person, against whom actions might be brought for recovery; but this provision, which was claimed by some, would have remained without effect, on account of the disputes which were raised against the authorities which were to decide in such cases, had not your Excellency, on the 9th January, referred the decision to the civil governors. These magistrates, having a greater jurisdiction than the ordinary judges, and being professional men, their judgments would be pronounced with more discernment and greater reflection; they would be better respected, and more promptly executed; and the dispossessed being exempted from useless and heavy expenses, would regain possession of their property in a shorter time.

But this possession would have been only ephemeral, had not your Excellency strengthened your former decree by another of the 23d August, which declared, that the proprietors of estates, and other property seized by the Spanish Government, were not obliged to repay the amount of contributions made during the time of sequestration. During that time they had not been in possession of their estates; and as the essence of a contract consists in its possession, it was an open violation of it to compel the dispossessed to pay monies which they had never gained; it was also cruel to oblige them so to do when the same sequestration had reduced them to misery. Such was the opinion of the professional gentlemen of

the department whom your Excellency consulted; and according to their view of the subject, your Excellency resolved to free those who had obtained restitution of their property from all engagements which they had undertaken for the satisfaction of their creditors, for in that case the reacquirement of their property would have been merely illusory.

If the interest of one single class of persons had required from your Excellency the declarations above referred to, those of all were no less imperative, that your Excellency, with the consent of the tribunal of the department, should expedite the decree of the 28th January, which, in certain cases, constituted the civil governors judges of appeals. It is an incalculable advantage for those who are engaged in litigation, to have their cause heard in their own department, and at no great distance: this the people enjoyed in the system which preceded the Revolution, and this should be their privilege now, as they live under a government every way disposed to administer justice and confer happiness upon all, in every branch of administration.

In granting them this benefit, your Excellency foresaw that the civil governors might err; that they were men; and that it was hazardous to trust the property of citizens to their judgment solely. In order to prevent every abuse, your Excellency determined that the tribunal of justice should be the last appeal for those whose cases

had been adjudged in the second instance by these magistrates. The rights of individuals and property were thus secured, and the views of justice and of the litigants the more likely to be obtained, as the judges will be various, according to the different questions they are to decide upon.

Although by the said provision the administration of justice will be more extensive, yet your Excellency considered it necessary to generalize it, in order that all might equally share it. As the ordinary judges were chiefly resident in cities and towns, they could not hear and pronounce upon the complaints of those unfortunates who were oppressed in distant parts; the more so, as their extreme misery deprived them of the means of calling for redress. They belonged to the human race, were a part of society, and had equal claims upon the laws and the protection of Government with the other citizens. Such was the object of your Excellency, when, in conjunction with the governor-general commandant of Tunja, you announced on the 4th April, that the civil judges of the districts into which the departments were divided, have an addition to their ordinary jurisdiction—that of magistrates of the district. As these officers have the superintendence of collecting taxes, of establishing public schools, of making roads, and of fulfilling all commissions intrusted to them, they ought very frequently to visit the people of their district, and hear the

complaints of the aggrieved: by these means it is hoped justice will be promptly administered, without the parties being so heavily oppressed as they were before.

Amongst these unfortunates are to be reckoned, and with much reason, those natives in whom the habit of long slavery had produced indifference and stupidity. They might justly be considered as children, who were in need of a guardian to direct both themselves and their affairs. And who could better exercise this office than the Government itself? Influenced by these considerations, his Excellency the Liberator President provided the necessary means for their education, and for respecting their social rights; and, by the regulation of the 20th May, charged the civil judges and governors of the provinces with their support and protection, but did not designate the authority which was to take cognizance of their causes. The tribunal of justice for the department having consulted upon it, your Excellency, on the 27th October, declared provisionally, that the municipal law upon civil actions should be in force; and in criminal cases referred them to the civil governors, who should immediately extend to them the protection of the Government and of the superior tribunals.

While the thunders of the cannon which destroyed the enemy at Boyaca, and the shrill blast of the trumpet still resounded, it was not the time to re-establish the Republic, or to regulate and

organize it completely. It was necessary to notice gradually what was to be corrected or altered, in order to improve the administration of justice; and such has been your Excellency's plan, in the several regulations you have determined upon. From September 1819, when his Excellency the Liberator established a tribunal of justice in the department, and nominated its ministers, till the 13th of last March, the modes and forms of procedure were not pointed out, because at that time no case had occurred for their declaration. In one instance it was required by a citizen; and your Excellency finding nothing laid down on the subject in the laws of the Republic, and conciliating the dignity of the judges with the liberty of the litigants, determined that for the recusation the cause should be proved without giving securities, or subjecting the recusant to punishment, as had formerly been done by the Spanish code; that administering oaths to the judges led to the conclusion that no confidence could be reposed in their judgments, as they might be influenced by passions, error, or ignorance.

The tribunal of justice of the department did not conform to the resolution of your Excellency. Your Excellency, however, insisted upon it, not finding a sufficient motive for recalling it; and consulting with the most excellent Liberator and President, who at that time was in this capital, you declared on the 17th March, that the regu-

lation respecting the giving of securities was no longer in force.

The tribunal of justice may sentence, applying the law erroneously, or by openly violating its provisions; and in this case there is an appeal *of notorious injustice* to the executive power, conformably to the provisional constitution, and the regulation of the 18th February 1819. The appeals of this class were very frequent, and the temerity of the litigants converted into an evil that which had been established for their benefit. To restrain them, the above named tribunal advised your Excellency to order the laws of the Spanish code to be observed, and that the appellants should be instructed to give securities for the payment of the damages, if their appeals were not well founded; and your Excellency, ever awake to the public good, and interested in the speedy conclusion of those law-suits, and that property should have possessors, granted on the 17th March the required provisions.

By the constitution and the cited regulations, his Excellency the President of the Republic could alone take cognizance of cases of *notorious injustice*, and he alone could invalidate the judicial sentences; and as his Excellency, always in front of the armies, directing their operations, had no fixed residence, this arrangement was productive of much inconvenience. The documents could not be safely transmitted, nor could his Excellency, occupied with objects of so much greater

importance, decide with quickness: thus the sentence was delayed, and the rights of the parties suffered very materially from this delay. This your Excellency represented, and his Excellency then decreed, on the 20th June, the formation of a commission in this capital, to whom were delegated his powers of examining and deciding upon all appeals of *notorious injustice.* Your Excellency immediately organized it, and causes were then decided with a promptitude evidently advantageous to the litigants, when the sentences were conformable to the laws.

Something, however, remains to be done; but it is for the supreme legislative power to supply what is wanting. The constitution provides, that if the judicial power insists upon the decrees which have been disputed, the executive shall give information of it to the senate, in order that it may make a final decision. The tribunal of justice of the department has, in some instances, availed itself of the powers conceded to it: your Excellency has suspended all decisions, and remitted to his Excellency the President the documents, which have not yet returned, owing to the enormous distance between Cundinamarca and the centre of the Supreme Government. In the administration of justice, it is necessary that the limits and distances should be shortened, in order that the rights of individuals should not be destroyed, which was the case under the Spanish Government, when litigants frequently lost the

whole of their fortune before they saw the end of the suit. It is to be hoped that the General Congress will remove such serious evils.

Your Excellency prevented still greater, when the Congress of Guayana resolved that the high-court of justice of the Republic should be resumed in the tribunal established for the department of Venezuela, as that of Cundinamarca had considered itself dissolved, and had understood that by the decree they were to send all the documents in second instance to that place. They so reported to your Excellency, stating, that, in obedience, the tribunal was dissolved. Your Excellency, aware of the evil consequences that would ensue, ordered provisionally, that the Ministers should not cease to exercise their functions; and addressed to the most excellent the President an energetic and vigorous representation, the result of which was, that the assembly of deputies declared that the intention of the Congress had not been to dissolve the tribunal of Cundinamarca, and approved the provisional measures of your Excellency.

The duties of the magistracy are not confined to the administration of justice between individuals; they embrace objects far more extensive, such as inflicting punishments upon delinquents, and repairing the evils which society has experienced from crimes. These considerations have induced your Excellency to fix certain punishments for those who have infringed the social

compact, the rights of man, and the laws which are made for their preservation.

To embezzle the property of others is doubtless a crime; but when that property belongs to the Republic, the crime is still greater; and the Roman, as well as the ancient Spanish laws, punished it with death. Your Excellency, not so inexorable as they, but always influenced by a just severity against public defaulters, when, by your decree of the 21st January, you ordered that the commissioners of sequestrations should render in their accounts, also provided, that those who should be found in arrears, should be punished with five years' imprisonment:—a salutary provision, which, although it has not been applied on account of the honourable conduct of the majority of the commissioners, has deprived those who are influenced by less worthy motives, from dilapidating those funds in which both the State and individuals are equally interested.

Indeed, all the relatives of those who have suffered sequestration of property, some part of it still remaining to them after the deduction of a third or fifth, have a right to complain if they be defrauded of aught by the commissioners of sequestration. Your Excellency has, however, received no complaints from this class, who, by virtue of the aforesaid decree, as well as those promulgated by the tribunal of justice respecting them, and which your Excellency has carried into effect, enjoy their property, free from the

misery to which, under similar circumstances, the Spanish Government exposed the friends of liberty.

In order that those who had suffered sequestration might enter into possession of their remaining property as soon as possible, your Excellency not only permitted them to pay the fifths and thirds *in kind*, and remitted to them the claims of the treasury upon what might devolve to them by inheritance, but also, by the decree of 1st August, prevailed upon the creditors, and those who had any demands upon sequestrated property, to remit their claims also. For this purpose, the ultimate and peremptory space of two months was fixed for all demands being sent in to the tribunal of justice, and after that time, no farther proceedings could be adopted. Such was the liberality of those at the head of the Republic, that they were anxious for the welfare and comfort even of the families of those who were inimical to independence.

Amongst those who had suffered sequestration were many who had no relatives, and who, not having availed themselves of the acts of amnesty of Congress, were deprived of all indulgences, in as much as they refused to present themselves before the constituted authorities of the Republic. Their property remains therefore for ever confiscated. The armistice has afforded to these emigrants an opportunity of returning to the places of their former residence. Your Excellency, that

they might not suppose that their return would be attended with the same consequences as the *postliminium* of the Romans, decreed, on the 20th December, that no demands made by them for property confiscated would be heard, and that such property would be at the disposition of the State, till the General Congress should determine otherwise.

The tithes were also considered as belonging to the Republic, and were chiefly derived from the ninths, the greater and less vacancies, and the cessions of property which had been made by the parishes. Considerable sums had been for many years owing to the State; and as the payment of them would afford Government the means of supplying the deficiencies of the treasury, without pressing so heavily upon the people, your Excellency, by a decree of the 24th May, ordered, that all who owed tithes should, within two months, make proposals to pay their debts, under pain of two years' imprisonment. This decree was followed by the happiest results; and the treasury was much increased by the large sums it received, in addition to provisions and stores, which could be applied to the wants of the troops.

The rights of society are a natural consequence of those of individuals, and it is equally the duty of Government to protect both. The rights of property and security had been invaded by some ill-disposed people, who broke into the houses, ill-treated the proprietors of them, and

pillaged their property. Till this time this evil had been removed in this city and its environs, by the vigilance of the magistrates, and the zeal of the patroles; and as, according to one of our laws, when crime is often repeated, severe example becomes necessary to restrain it, your Excellency in conformity ordered, on the 17th July, that thieves convicted of the crime of theft and forcible entry into houses, should, upon accusation, and upon the parties' declaration solely, be sentenced to the punishment of death; which sentence was to be carried into effect as quickly as possible. By these measures, an immediate stop was put to crimes particularly distinguished by circumstances of atrocity.

The seizure and imprisonment of those who had been the instigators of these crimes, contributed much to it. Some deserters had been the authors: these men had formed the project of arming themselves as guerillas, and were joined by several ill-disposed people whose only interest is in disorder, and by some Spaniards who had concealed themselves since the battle of Boyaca. The public tranquillity was threatened, and to re-establish it, your Excellency, availing yourself of the powers vested in the Executive Government in such cases, had these deserters and their accomplices arrested; and having continued their trial till a chain of convincing evidence, such as they could not deny, was established, sentenced the principal delinquents to death, and their

accomplices, in proportion to their crimes, either to the service of the army, or to banishment to Casanare, Neyva, and San Martin.

After this act of severity, in order to secure public tranquillity, which would still continue to be disturbed, so long as any fugitives remained concealed in the mountains, your Excellency considered it necessary to try the effect of milder measures. The armistice, and treaties upon the articles of war, presented a favourable opportunity; and your Excellency availed yourself of these to declare, on the 21st December, an armistice to all who should be so circumstanced, and who should present themselves within eight days to the nearest judge. Those who availed themselves of it returned again to the bosom of their families, resumed the exercise of their respective duties, and lived free from care and inquietude.

As it is out of the power of any Government to make men virtuous and just, so, notwithstanding the most vigorous measures are adopted to repress crimes, some will still be found to commit them: there will be thieves, and punishment becomes necessary, that they may feel the consequences of violating their duties. For this object your Excellency founded the prison of the Mines of La Baxa; which the Governor General-Commandant of Pamplona regulated and organized, by order of your Excellency, for the reception of all criminals from the provinces of Neyva, Mariquita, Casanare, Socorro, Tunja, Bogota, and

Pamplona, who might be convicted of theft, the sentence having been pronounced by the tribunal of justice for the department. Some have already been sent there; and labour and continual occupation will produce such a change in their habits and character, as that the Republic may one day have the benefit of their reformation.

The distance of Neyva, Mariquita, and Bogota from Pamplona is very considerable, and the sufferings of the criminals are too great from so long a journey, as it renders the punishment more severe by entirely cutting them off from their families. Humanity becomes interested for them, and justice requires, that, for the sake of example, they should suffer their punishment, if it were possible, in the very place in which they committed the crime. Your Excellency hopes to effect this, by establishing another prison in the Mine of Mal Paso de Mariquita, the proprietor of which has agreed with the Government to transfer it to the service of the State, he receiving a third part of the nett proceeds, deducting the costs to which he must be liable for this third. The first six months will prove whether this engagement will or will not be advantageous to the treasury; and from the results your Excellency will be able to establish the prison upon a permanent basis.

It was necessary that your Excellency should also correct another evil, which was constantly recurring, that of each citizen taking upon himself

to refuse receiving the money which was in circulation. It is the prerogative of the national sovereignty exclusively to determine the weight and value of the coin; but as this refusal was chiefly caused by the variations which the coin has experienced among us, and by the particular form of the coin, which, being without a border, admitted the doubt of its being clipped; under these circumstances, the irregularity could not be punished with that severity which would otherwise have been necessary. Your Excellency has therefore been satisfied with declaring, in your decrees of the 21st February and 24th March, that they who should refuse to receive the money which, by existing laws, and the resolutions of the legislative bodies of the Republic, had been decreed lawful, and which your Excellency named and designated, should be subject to severe penalties; and with respect to clipped money, your Excellency added, that it should pass for its nominal value, provided it has not lost one-third of its original weight.

But all these cares for the better execution and administration of justice required the final settlement of territory, without which, the authorities and magistrates, being frequently involved in disputes, could not give effect even to the most advantageous measures. Your Excellency, in order to avoid evils so great, fixed provisionally, and till the determination of the General Congress, the limits of the provinces of Mariquita and

Bogota, which at all times had been a matter of dispute, and regulated those of the district of Antioquia, which had been ill defined.

In the midst of so many cares, and engaged by so many important objects, your Excellency has had the satisfaction of seeing harmony and concord subsist amongst all the authorities of the department. If at any time any rivalship has existed, it could neither be attributed to passions nor ambition, but to an anxious wish for the better accomplishment of the laws, and the fulfilment of the respective duties. The firmness and decision of your Excellency have succeeded in satisfying the magistrates; and all their disagreements have ceased, without the public being prejudiced by them.

The same harmony has existed between the people and their chiefs, whom they love and respect, and in whose discretion and honour they have the utmost confidence. If your Excellency intended to separate any of them, in order to give them a different destination, you immediately received addresses from the different districts, remonstrating against the measure; and your Excellency, ever attentive to the public voice, condescended to give way. Your Excellency has ever been prompt to hear the complaints of the people, and with equal promptitude has distributed justice. If at any time military excesses have taken place, your Excellency has instantly punished the offender, and re-established the

most perfect harmony between the military and the people.

Your Excellency must experience the greatest satisfaction from reflecting, that, during your administration, each citizen has lived securely in his dwelling, and has enjoyed his property in full and perfect liberty: that your vigilance has constantly watched over the individual tranquillity of the citizens, as well as the general quiet of the department: that no party or faction has reared its head; and that all your measures have been executed with promptitude, zeal, and activity.

Such, most excellent Sir, is the sketch of the conduct of your Excellency during the year we have just terminated: the people can judge for themselves, whether you have fulfilled your duty, and made them sensible of the difference of the Spanish Government. The General Congress, to which your Excellency is about to submit all the measures of which we have spoken, and to whose sovereign tribunal your Excellency will render an account of your administration, will correct and add all that is necessary to raise the Republic to the utmost pitch of political perfection. The Congress will complete the work of independence already begun, and persevered in at such vast cost. It will consolidate the union, and will give to Colombia, laws and institutions more enlightened, more liberal, and more conformable to the march of intellect, and the general wish of the people. In the mean time, your

Excellency may congratulate yourself with the proud thought of having contributed all your powers to the freedom of your fellow-countrymen, after having fought to secure their independence.

The most excellent Señor, Estanislao Vergara;
The most excellent the Vice-President General Francisco de Paula Santander.

Bogota, 31*st December* 1820.

The preceding documents were directed to the Executive Power of the Republic, accompanied by the following Note:—

SIR,—No satisfaction can equal that which fills the heart of a magistrate who presents an account of his administration before the eyes of the Government and those of his fellow-citizens. Such is my feeling in now presenting, through your kind medium, to his Excellency the Liberator and President, the accompanying documents respecting the different measures which I dictated last year, as chief of this extensive department.

It is not for me to boast of complete success, but I may congratulate myself upon having fulfilled the orders of the Supreme Authority, and that my zeal for accomplishing them has in no way affected the tranquillity of these provinces. From the mouths of the Magdalena to Arauca, and from Popayan as far as Tachira, there is but

one sentiment, and one interest,—that of independence.

Your Excellency will apply these documents as you may judge fit, and I will immediately send those decrees and provisions to which they refer, in order that they may be forwarded to the General Congress at the proper period.

May Heaven preserve your Excellency many years. F. P. SANTANDER.

Bogota, January 15. 1821.

To the Minister at War of the Government of Colombia.

STATEMENT, shewing the Sums remitted by the Treasury of Bogota, throughout the year 1820, to the different Corps of the Army, to the Factories, and on account of attested payments for their Equipment, Subsistence, &c.

	Pesos.	Reals.
To the head-quarters of the Liberator, - - -	251,200	0
To the order of his Excellency the President, - - - -	34,000	0
To General Paez, in money collected by the Viceroy, 38,000 pesos, and in doubloons, 10,000 pesos,	48,000	0
To Cauca, and the army of Popayan,	36,000	0
Carried forward,	369,200	0

	Pesos.	Reals.
Brought forward,	369,200	0
To the army of Magdalena, -	34,000	0
To his Excellency the Admiral, -	33,000	0
To Onda, for troops and secret services, - - -	7,000	0
To Neyva, for troops and provisions for the south, - -	9,000	0
To foreign creditors, - -	17,265	2¼
To the Maeztranza of Bogota, -	35,000	0
Subscriptions of tenths, for supplies to the army, - -	24,837	1½
Subscriptions from individuals for do.	2,994	3
To the factory of Ambalema, -	14,000	0
To the factory of Pie-Cuesta, -	6,000	0
Total,	552,296	6¾

Note.—In this statement, the sums are not included which have been disbursed for the pay of the different corps, or expended in the interior provinces, for rations, saltpetre, and clothing; nor for the support of hospitals, for the purchasing of drugs, or pay of those clerks employed in the public administration; nor the sums appropriated to the pay of pensions, invalids; nor those which the treasuries of the provinces have remitted to the armies, for the purchasing of arms, &c. &c.

STATEMENT of the Amount of MONIES coined in the Mint of Bogota, from the 1st of September 1819, till the 19th December 1820.

	Pesos.	Reals.
In hard dollars and pesetas till December 1819, - -	47,100	0
In dollars and pesetas throughout the year 1820, - -	181,363	0
Total in silver,	228,463	0
In gold, in the year 1820, nine thousand and sixty marks of five ounces and two-eighths, amounting to - - -	1,191,963	2
Total amount in gold and silver,	1,420,426	2

One million four hundred and twenty thousand four hundred and twenty-six pesos fuertes, and two reals.

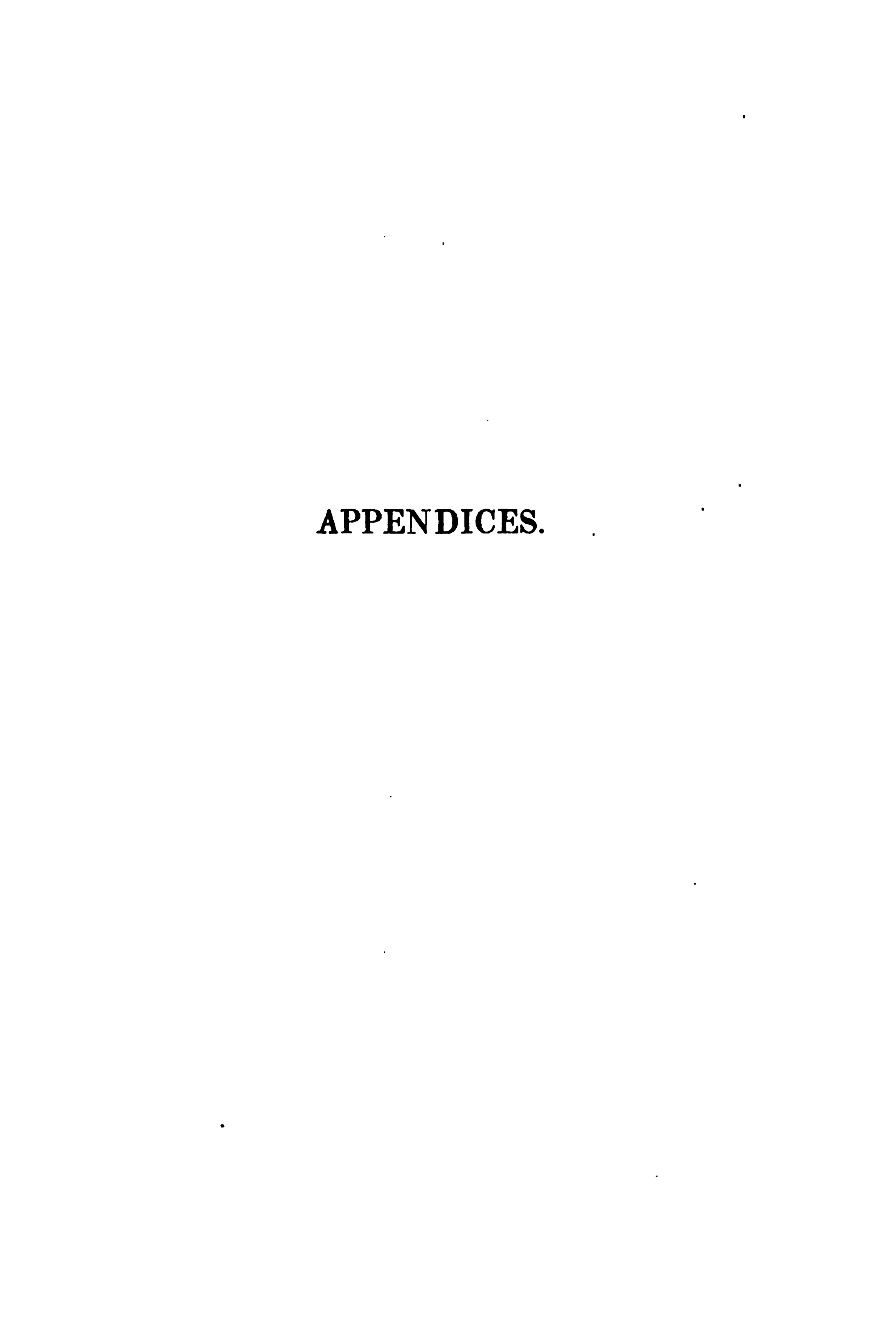
Bogota, 4th January 1821.

Signed by the Accountant,

JOSEPH JOAQUIN ZEREZUELA.

Examined by the superintendent,—PEY.

6



APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

I.—TRADE TO COLOMBIA.

COPY OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SOME MERCHANTS TRADING TO COLOMBIA, AND THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY.

Freeman's-Court, November 9. 1822.

SIR,—In pursuance of the conversation we had the honour to hold yesterday with Sir George Cockburn and yourself, we beg leave to lay before you, for the information of their Lordships, the grounds on which it appears to us that the trade with the ports of La Guayra and Maracaibo, in Colombia, require, for the present, a regular and systematic protection, and respectfully to suggest the manner in which that protection may be afforded.

Of the outrages to which all commerce in those seas is at present exposed by piracy, their Lordships are doubtless fully aware. In addition to this evil, the Spanish commander at Puerto Cabello, General Morales, has latterly given notice of his intention to capture and condemn every vessel of whatever flag or character which he finds trading with the Colombian ports. He claims the right of doing so on two grounds: *first*, that he has declared the whole extent of coast from the Orinoco to the Isthmus of Darien under blockade, though with no visible means of enforcing it; and, *secondly*, that vessels trading with the Colombian ports are guilty of a breach of Spanish colonial laws.

Encouraged by this declaration of the Spanish commander, there were, by the last accounts, five Spanish privateers fitting out at Porto Rico, and one or more had actually sailed. Two British vessels have already been captured, both condemned, and one of them sold, of which particulars are given in the margin.* Two Dutch vessels have also been captured by a squadron, in which the Spanish General Morales himself is stated to have been. It is not pretended in any of these cases that the property was Colombian, or belonging to any of the enemies of Spain.

Although the Spanish commander claims the exercise of these extraordinary rights, the crown of Spain possesses, throughout the whole of the Colombian Republic, (extending on the Atlantic shore from the Orinoco to Darien, and on the Pacific from Guayaquil to Panama), but one single fortress—that of Puerto Cabello, with no territory beyond its walls.

Under these circumstances, the necessity of affording protection to this trade, as far as British subjects are concerned, we doubt not will be apparent to their Lordships.

The most convenient mode of granting this protection, we submit, will be to direct the commanding officer at Barbadoes to dispatch a convoy regularly on the first of every month for La Guayra and Maracaibo, with such vessel or vessels for those ports as may have arrived at Barbadoes; to direct the commander of the convoy to inquire at La Guayra if there are any vessel or vessels for England nearly ready to sail, and in that case to return from Maracaibo to La Guayra, take them under his protection, and see them safe through the Mona passage. All this could be accomplished in less than a month, so that one vessel of war would be equal to the whole duty. The homeward trade from La Guayra could not go down to Maracaibo without considerable delay and inconvenience, as from the latter port it could not make the Mona passage.

* The *Phœbe*, Mackie, from La Guayra to Hamburgh; and the *Zelia*, Oliver, from Cadiz to Vera Cruz.

Respecting the protection of the Maracaibo trade homewards, we would suggest, that as there is a regular communication between that place and Santa Martha, and between Santa Martha and Jamaica, the commander of any convoy proceeding down from Jamaica to Santa Martha, should be directed, on receiving an intimation that any British ship was ready to proceed for Europe, to go to Maracaibo and give her protection through the windward passage.

By these means the trade to both ports, outwards and homewards, would receive protection, without compelling the La Guayra homeward trade to incur the inconvenience of being brought down to Maracaibo.

There being at present no British consul at the Colombian ports, it will be convenient, if their Lordships see no objection, to direct the commanding officers of convoys to receive communication for the present from the merchants at the respective ports, in relation to the protection of the trade.

Since the month of May last, five ships have sailed from the river Thames, laden with British merchandise, for La Guayra and Maracaibo, and one is now loading here, and another at Liverpool, for the same ports. We have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servants,

(Signed) HURRY & POWLES, London.
FALKNER & MAWDSLEY, Liverpool.
WILLIAM ACKERS, Liverpool.

John Wilson Croker, Esq. &c. Admiralty.

Admiralty-office, November 11.

GENTLEMEN—Having laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the letter of the 9th instant, signed by you and by Messrs Falkner and Mawdsley, and Mr Ackers, of Liverpool, representing the interruptions to which the trade of this country with the ports of Colombia is exposed, and requesting that protection may be afforded to this trade agreeably to the arrangement therein detailed, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you, that they have directed the officers commanding his Majesty's naval force in the West

Indies, to carry into effect the arrangement which you have proposed in regard to convoys; and that their Lordships have also transmitted a copy of your letter to his Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs.

I am, Gentlemen, your very obedient servant,

(Signed) J. W. Croker.

Messrs Hurry & Powles, Freeman's-Court.

II.—SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL CAREER OF PRESIDENT BOLIVAR.

(From a Periodical Work).

Simon Bolivar, Commander-in-chief of the independent forces of Venezuela, and President of the Colombian Republic, is descended from a family of distinction at Caracas, where he was born about the year 1785. He was one of the few natives of the Spanish colonies who were formerly permitted to visit Europe. After finishing his studies at Madrid, he went to France, and, during his stay at Paris, rendered himself an acceptable guest in its social circles, by the amenity of his manners and his other personal recommendations. In the midst, however, of all its distractions, his strong and ardent imagination anticipated the task which the future fortunes of his country might impose upon him, and, even in his twenty-third year, he contemplated the establishment of her independence. Whilst he was at Paris, Bolivar's favourite and principal occupation was the study of those branches of science which belong to the formation of a warrior and statesman; and he was anxious to form such connexions as might give a more perfect direction to his hopes and views. Humboldt and Bompland were his intimate friends, and accompanied him in his travels in France: nor did he think he had learned enough, until he had traversed England, Italy, and a part of Germany. On his return to Madrid, he married the Marquis of Ulstariz's daughter; and shortly afterwards went

back to America, where he arrived at the very moment when his fellow-countrymen, who were wearied with the oppressions of the Spanish Govérnment, had determined to unfurl the standard of independence. The talents, rank, and acquirements of Bolivar, pointed him out as the worthiest and best qualified among them to be placed at the helm; but he disapproved of the system adopted by the Congress of Venezuela, and refused to join Don Lopez Mendez in his mission to England, which was connected with the interests of the new government. Bolivar éven declined any direct connexion with it, though he continued a staunch friend to his country's liberties.

In March 1812 an earthquake devastated the whole province, and among other places destroyed the city of Caracas, together with its magazines and munitions of war. Fresh troubles followed this catastrophe, in which twenty thousand persons lost their lives; but its most disastrous result was, that it became a rallying point for the priesthood, and facilitated their endeavours to bring back a considerable portion of their superstitious flocks to the ancient order of things. In their hands, the earthquake became a token of the Divine wrath; and, indeed, it was so manifest a token, as they alleged, of the indignation of Heaven, that the anniversary of the insurrection was the chosen day of its occurrence. The credulous mind was disconcerted and overwhelmed by these insidious representations; dissension enfeebled the independents; and a succession of disasters overtook them on the approach of the Spanish general, Monteverde, who lost no time in attacking them whilst labouring under these disadvantages. Bolivar hastened to join Miranda, who had fought in the ranks of the French revolutionists undet Dumourier, and had already unsheathed his sword in the cause of freedom. But Miranda's efforts were unsuccessful, and he was obliged to retreat as far as Vittoria. Bolivar himself was unfortunate in his first attempts. He had obtained the governorship of Puerto Cabello, in conjunction with the rank of colonel; but was compelled to evacuate this place, in order to save it from the destruction which impended over it, in consequence of

the revolt of his prisoners, who had made themselves masters of its citadel and well-supplied ramparts. The loss of so important a position was deeply felt by the independent army, though it did not weaken Bolivar's ascendency. The Congress of New Grenada gave him the command of a corps of six thousand men, which he led across the mountains of Tunza and Pamplona to the farthest extremity of New Grenada, on the banks of the Tachira. After putting some parties of royalists to flight, he marched upon Ocana with the view of penetrating on that side into the Venezuelean territory. Rivas, his second in command, having reached him with reinforcements granted by the Congress of New Grenada, he attacked his enemies at Cúcuta, routed them, and dispatched a detachment towards Guadalito, under the orders of Don Nicholas Briceno, who levied more troops in that neighbourhood, and then proceeded to occupy the province of Varinas. Bolivar, in the meanwhile, met with fresh successes at Grita, and seized upon the department of Merida; whilst Briceno, being defeated by the royalists, fell into their power with seven of his officers. This event afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of applying to their own colonies the same horrible system of warfare which they had practised in Europe, under the pretext that every means is allowable to repel aggression. Tilear, the governor of Varinas, ordered these prisoners to be shot, together with several other members of families of distinction, who were accused of holding correspondence with the independents. Bolivar, who had hitherto conducted the war with great forbearance, was inflamed with indignation at these cruelties: he swore to avenge Briceno, his brother in arms, and declared that every royalist who should fall into his hands should be consigned over to the vengeance of his soldiery. But this spirit of inexorable justice and retaliation ill accorded with Bolivar's character: the menaces he held out were, we are assured, never realized but on one single occasion, and that, indeed, at a time when the safety of his followers appears absolutely to have required it. His army increasing daily, he divided it into two corps; one of which he committed to Rivas, while, placing

himself at the head of the other, he advanced towards Caracas through the districts of Truxillo and Varinas. After several engagements, which terminated in their favour, the two commanders were assailed by the flower of Monteverde's troops at Gestaguanes; and the obstinate encounter which ensued was finally determined by the Spanish cavalry, who passed over to the side of the independents, and thus gave them the victory. Monteverde then shut himself up in Puerto Cabello with the remains of his army. On the other hand, Bolivar followed up his success, and invested Caracas, which capitulated by the counsels of a junta suddenly collected. The conditions which he exacted were by no means severe: he declared that no one should be molested on account of his political opinions; and that those who wished to withdraw were at liberty to remove themselves and all they possessed. Whilst Bolivar was entering the place, the governor made his escape, and embarked for La Guayra, leaving fifteen hundred royalists at the conqueror's mercy.

Monteverde, spite of the humiliating situation in which he was placed, assumed a tone of arrogance which could not fail to hasten the entire defection of the colonies from the mother-country: he refused to ratify the treaty presented to him, and declared, "that it was derogatory to the dignity of Spain to treat with these rebels." The disdain which the *rebel* general displayed was much more in character, for he confined himself to leaving the insult unnoticed. He was received with great enthusiasm at Caracas on the 4th of August 1813.

Marino, another commander, was equally victorious in the eastern provinces; and the entire region of Venezuela, with the exception of Puerto Cabello, was rescued from the grasp of its oppressors.

Bolivar, desirous of turning his success to the account of humanity, proposed an exchange of prisoners with Monteverde; who, regardless of the disparity of numbers, was unwilling to lower his pride to such a compromise: he preferred applying the reinforcements which had reached him to a fresh assault upon the independents, at Agua-Caliente. This assault recoiled upon himself: the greater part of his force was

destroyed; he was saved with difficulty from falling into the hands of his enemies, and was carried to Puerto Cabello, severely wounded. Bolivar had hoped that this victory would have drawn the calamities of war to a nearer close: he again sent a flag of truce to the royalists, accompanied by Salvador Garcia, an individual whose virtuous character entitled him to the esteem of all parties. But Salomon, the new royalist commander, proved himself to have inherited the impolitic principles and ferocious disposition of his predecessor: he ordered the venerable priest to be loaded with irons, and cast into a dungeon. It appears as if the Spaniards had been anxious to exasperate men's minds, and aggravate the horrors of a warfare, the principal miseries of which were ultimately destined to fall on their own heads. Puerto Cabello, being vigorously attacked both by sea and land, was speedily reduced; an event greatly hastened by D'Eluyar, a young soldier, to whom the independent general had intrusted the operations of the siege. The citadel, however, refused to capitulate, though it was afflicted with disease, in want of provisions, and without the remotest hope of being relieved. In consequence of its obstinate resistance, Bolivar determined simply to invest it; and was deterred from attempting an assault, which must have proved murderous, and might have miscarried. During this siege, a battalion of the independents was attacked by a party of royalists, and behaved so ill that Bolivar thought it right to disarm it; but, a short time afterwards, the battalion, eager to regain its lost credit, armed itself with pikes, and rushing on the enemy, plundered them of their arms and accoutrements, and used them for its own equipment. This achievement signalized the combat of Araure. The whole of the campaign of this season was eminently conducive to the prosperity of the independent cause.

The inhabitants of the province of Caracas, as is the case with all infant republics, were extremely jealous of the liberty which it had cost them so many sacrifices to acquire: their mistrust was roused by the continued dictatorship which was exercised by Bolivar, who delegated it to his inferiors, by whom it was abused to a degree which frequently redoubled

their apprehensions; and, although he had never himself applied his power improperly, yet his refusal to resign it on the requisition of the Congress of New Grenada, engendered a spirit of discontent which met him even in the midst of his own followers. He perceived that this was the proper moment for divesting himself of his authority. A general assembly of the principal civil and military officers was therefore convoked on the 2d January 1814; and in its presence Bolivar was resolved upon renouncing his dictatorial powers, after rendering a scrupulous account of his operations, as well as of the plans he had deemed it necessary to adopt. His power was tottering; but this proceeding gave it new vigour. The leading persons of Venezuela,—men whose patriotism was above suspicion,—Don Carlos Hurtado de Mendoza, governor of Caracas; Don J. Ch. Rodriguez, president of the municipality; and the highly respected Don Alzura, sensible of the necessity which still existed for the tutelary superintendence of such a leader as Bolivar, were joined by their colleagues in soliciting him to continue in the dictatorship, until the province of Venezuela should be united again with New Grenada.

The royalist party were, by this time, aware of all the difficulties in which their struggle against the independent provinces was involved; and hoping for new allies in the slaves which peopled them, they sent agents secretly among them to organize their irregular bands. Among these emissaries were Palomo, a negro, who was a notorious thief and murderer, and a man of the name of Puy, who was abhorred in every quarter; in short, the persons pitched upon for the purpose were every way worthy of their mission and the object it proposed. The new plot was revealed to Bolivar by some intercepted dispatches; though it was not in his power wholly to prevent its execution. Any country that has long been the theatre of war, must contain numbers who are ready for plunder and devastation, particularly when they can put on the false mask of a pretended "good cause." The activity of the independent general did not long permit them to pursue their ill designs with impunity. The execrable Puy, who

was far more bloodthirsty than any of his comrades, repaired to Varinas, where, fearing that its inhabitants would rise *en masse* against him, he seized and shot five hundred of them. The remainder owed their rescue entirely to the sudden appearance of Bolivar on the spot. In a few days the royalist agent again fell upon the town, and massacred the remnant of his victims. Exasperated by the infamous conduct of his adversaries, Bolivar assumed a character totally foreign to his generous principles and habits, and ordered eight hundred royalists to be shot. This severe retaliation occasioned the death of the independents who were imprisoned in Puerto Cabello, but whom the governor had hitherto spared. In the midst of these shocking scenes, Bolivar was eagerly prosecuting a more honourable warfare: he routed one of the principal royalist commanders near the Tuy, whilst Rivas was obtaining minor advantages over the motley horde commanded by Rosette, a mulatto; and Yanez, a royalist partisan, was totally defeated at Ospinos, and perished on the field of battle. Rosette, and Bovès, another royalist leader, were not however to be discouraged by these reverses; they were strengthened by considerable reinforcements, and immediately resumed the offensive, by marching to Caracas and attacking Bolivar himself. Here he was so ably seconded by Marino and Montilla, that he completely defeated the royalists at Boca Chica; and being joined by Urdaneta and Morino on the 28th of May, he obtained another signal victory over the Spaniards, who were under the command of the gallant Cagigal. These repeated successes were unfortunately the occasion of disaster to the independents; for their over-eagerness in the pursuit of their foes led the respective generals to separate, and Bolivar was consequently attacked in an unfaveourable position in the plains of Cura, where the Spanish cavalry had ample space for operations: the independents fought manfully for several hours, but were at last obliged to resign the contest. This victory reanimated the hopes of their opponents; and Cagigal, Bovès, and Calzada, having effected a junction, menaced Marino's division, which was compelled to retreat before far superior numbers to Cumana. The reverses which now attended the

independents' operations, led to consequences in the highest degree disastrous. The people, being deprived of the benefits which induced them to approve or tolerate a military government, began to discern its disadvantages, and were become sensible that the very rapidity of military movements, and the arbitrary measures which follow in their train, were irreconcileable with the spirit of liberty. They soon learned to look upon the ill success of those who fought in defence of that liberty with an eye of indifference. These impressions incapacitated the republicans from recruiting their forces at this period. They were obliged to raise the siege of Puerto Cabello and embark for Cumana, where Bolivar arrived with the shattered remnant of his forces. The Spaniards re-entered La Guayra and Caracas, and the inhabitants of Valencia, notwithstanding a gallant defence, were forced to capitulate. The conquerors have been charged with violating the terms of this surrender, and putting the eloquent Espejo, and other officers of the garrison, to death, after the town had surrendered. A short time before all these reverses, a young man, who was descended from one of the first families of Santa Fé, had hallowed the cause of independence by an act of devotion which is well worthy of being handed down to posterity. Ricante was in command of the fort of San Matteo, and an action was contesting at some distance from it. One of the royalist chiefs determined to make himself master of the fort, the garrison of which was extremely scanty, and made his way towards it at the head of a strong detachment. Ricante, perceiving that resistance was useless, sent away all his soldiers, who joined their countrymen on the field of battle. The Spaniards, conceiving the fort to be evacuated, entered it without opposition; but the gallant youth, setting fire to the powder, buried himself and his enemies beneath the ruins of a post which he was unable to defend!

It was not in the power of adversity to shake the dauntless patriotism of Bolivar: he reappeared at the head of a considerable force in the province of Barcelona, and was doomed to experience fresh reverses in the unfortunate conflict of Araguita; whence his next movement was to embark for

Carthagena, where he might devise the means of restoring the tottering fortunes of his country. Rivas and Bermudez, in the mean while, had taken up positions which enabled them to keep together the troops under their command, and were in a short time joined by many who were determined not to succumb under the Spanish yoke, or were hopeless of escape excepting from the success of a cause which they had openly espoused. Morales and Bovès made several fruitless attempts to overcome them, until, their ranks being considerably increased, they were in a situation to act with decision, which they did by attacking and defeating them at Urica, on the 5th of December, and then occupying Maturin, which had been the head-quarters of the independents. Rivas was taken prisoner and shot; whilst Bermudez took refuge in the island of Margarita, where he remained until the arrival of the Spanish General Morillo. When the expedition under the orders of this celebrated commander approached to lay siege to Carthagena, Bolivar quitted it, and repaired to Tunja, where the Congress of New Grenada was then sitting. Here he put himself in motion with a few troops, and made himself master of Santa Fé de Bogota; from whence he marched towards Santa Martha, in his attempt on which he was foiled through the jealousy of Don M. Castillo, the governor of Carthagena. Enraged at the refusal of the reinforcements which the Congress had assigned to him, he was on the eve of entering Carthagena sword in hand, when he found that Morillo had begun operations against that important post. Bolivar now dismissed every feeling of resentment from his mind, united his troops to those of the garrison, and set sail for Jamaica, from whence, he trusted, he would be enabled to return with forces adequate to effect the raising of the siege; but the failure of pecuniary resources crippled his efforts, and prevented his arriving in time to save Carthagena from falling into Spanish hands. This place had undergone the most lamentable sufferings; and its very conquerors were deeply affected at the misery to which famine and disease had reduced its brave defenders, who evacuated it on the 6th of December 1815, after spiking the guns. They embarked in thirteen vessels, and,

forcing their way through the enemy's gun-boats, made for Aux Cayes.

The hopes of the independents seemed now at their last gasp. Their enemies in the Old World, the enemies of freedom in all hemispheres, thought it strange that the Americans should conceive the idea of possessing a country of their own. America had witnessed her worst reverses, emerging from her most signal successes; and Spain, in her turn, beheld her victorious career in a foreign clime pregnant with the ultimate ruin of her hopes. She would have thought her triumph incomplete had she refrained from humbling the vanquished; and forgot that her arrogance might estrange those colonists who had hitherto adhered to her cause. The encouragement which these new allies held out to them, excited the indefatigable warriors, whom the fatal rout at Urica had not tamed into submission, to form themselves into corps of guerillas, and place themselves under the command of Monagas, Zaraza, and other chiefs. A short time demonstrated the formidable character which such bodies may assume: the suddenness of their incursions, and the rapidity of their movements, justly entitled them to the appellation of "*The Tartars of America*," and enabled them to rekindle the dying embers of their liberties. Arismendi, after various successes, took possession of the island of Margarita; and Bolivar, skilfully availing himself of this fortunate turn of affairs, lost no time in hastening the equipment of an expedition which was collecting at the expense of some private individuals. Among these was Brion, a man of large property, whom none could exceed in devotion to the cause of freedom: to him was intrusted the command of two ships of war and thirteen transports, which composed the naval force of this expedition. Towards the close of March 1816, Bolivar, who had been joined by two battalions of black troops, from Pétion, the Haytian president at Port au Prince, set sail with his little army. On his way, he captured two vessels under Spanish convoy, one of them a king's ship, of 14 guns and 140 men, after an action in which Brion was wounded; he afterwards disembarked at Margarita, and drove the Spaniards from every part of the island, excepting

the fort of Pampatar. At Carupano he strengthened his force with several corps of guerillas, and compelled the Spaniards to evacuate that post; thence he marched to Ocumare, where, after resting his troops at Choroni, he left his advance under the command of MacGregor, who made himself master of Maracay and the Cabrera. The future depended on instant energy and decision; and Bolivar circulated a strong manifesto throughout the province of Caracas, in which he developed his intentions, and strove to rekindle the dormant patriotism of those for whose sake he had once more hoisted his standard. This manifesto, instead of awakening the enthusiasm which it ought to have inspired, served but to rouse the apprehensions of the sordid-minded. In vain had the general himself led the way by enfranchizing his Negroes, and ranging them as volunteers under the banners of liberty; the principal colonists were more alarmed by the fear of losing their slaves, than anxious to be avenged of the Spaniards, and betrayed their own cause in their eagerness to preserve their rich plantations. The opposition which ensued was productive of the most disastrous consequences. Bolivar, calculating on the co-operation of the inhabitants, had weakened himself by leaving MacGregor in another province: he was consequently incapable of sustaining the assault of the Spaniards under Morales, and, after an obstinate resistance, in which he lost his best officers, was forced to retreat in disorder. The two Haytian battalions gallantly covered the retreat of their brethren in arms; whilst those of them who escaped the sword of their adversaries, found a miserable grave where they had expected a generous asylum; being pitilessly butchered by their own countrymen, in whose defence they had ventured their lives. On the other hand, MacGregor, unable to contend single-handed against the victorious Spaniards, was compelled to retire to Barcelona; which he succeeded in gaining, though harassed on all sides by light troops.

Arismendi was more fortunate in his operations: As his position was more favourable, he laid hold of Pampatar, left not a Spaniard remaining in Margarita, and embarked with a part of his force for Barcelona, where the independent troops

were to form a junction. At this period, Bolivar, who was anxious to resume the offensive with greater effect, set out from Aux Cayes, where, it is asserted, he escaped assassination in consequence of a mistake made by a royalist emissary, who stabbed the master of the house in which Bolivar resided, instead of the general himself. On his arrival in Margarita, Bolivar issued a proclamation, convoking the representatives of Venezuela in a General Congress; and thence passed over to Barcelona, where he established a provisional government. Morillo now advanced to this place with four thousand men, supported by his whole naval force, and, on the 15th of February 1817, paid dearly for a temporary success he gained over his antagonist, who rendered it entirely useless by setting fire to his own ships. The 16th, 17th, and 18th, were occupied in a desperate conflict, which terminated in Bolivar's obtaining possession of the enemy's camp; though the struggle so completely crippled him, that he was unable to pursue the Spaniards till he was reinforced by a considerable detachment. Morillo, who had suffered greatly during his retreat, was met and defeated by General Paez, in the plains of Banco Largo. Other successes attended the independent forces under Piar, in the district of Corona, as well as in Caycara under Zaraza, who had raised a force much needed by his party, by breaking in the wild horses of America for his cavalry.

Bolivar, having been chosen supreme director of Venezuela, towards the close of this year (1817) fixed his head-quarters at Angostura, where he was enabled to organize the civil and military affairs of his government. On the last day in December he took his departure, with two thousand horsemen and two thousand five hundred foot; ascended the Orinoco; was joined on his route by Generals Cedeno and Paez; and after a march of two-and-forty days, appeared before the ramparts of Calabozo, three hundred leagues from Angostura. After several engagements, which were fought on the 12th of February 1818, and the two subsequent days, he forced Morillo to abandon that place: he pursued and attacked him on the 16th and 17th, at Sombrero, whence he compelled him

to take refuge in Valencia. The exhaustion and diminution of his own troops, after such a series of hard fighting, as well as the necessity of providing against any operations in his rear, induced him to desist from farther pursuit, and detach Cedeno and Paez to take possession of San Fernando de Apure. His force being thus reduced to one thousand two hundred cavalry and about five hundred foot, Morillo suddenly attacked him on his advance to San Vittoria, near Caracas. A continued conflict was thence kept up from the 13th to the 17th of March, at La Cabrera, Maracay, and La Puerta; during which the Spanish commander was wounded. Cedeno, as well as Paez, who had received some reinforcements from England, now rejoined Bolivar, who, on the 26th, became the assailant in his turn, attacked the heights of Ortiz, and carried the Spanish position, which was defended by La Torre. The enemy, however, in his retreat, directed his march on Calabozo, and captured it on the 30th of the same month. On the 17th of April, Bolivar narrowly escaped from being delivered up to the Spaniards by one of his own officers; for this villain, a Colonel Lopez, made his way with twelve men to the spot where his general was reposing, and scarcely gave him time to get away in an almost naked state.

No sooner had Bolivar rejoined his corps, than he was vigorously assailed by Antonio Pla, a Spanish officer, who cut off four hundred of his men. Some days afterwards, Morillo, having collected the garrisons of several places, effected a junction with La Torre, and on the 2d of May attacked Paez, in the plains of Cojedos. The conflict which ensued was equally disastrous to either party, and put an end to the campaign in the interior of the country. Some of Bolivar's officers had, in the mean while, laid hold of several places on the coast: Marino had possessed himself of Cariaco, whilst Admiral Brion, after dispersing the Spanish flotilla, and sending some pieces of artillery, ten thousand muskets, and other warlike stores, up the Orinoco, surprised the post of Guiria on the 30th of August.

On the 15th of February 1819, Bolivar presided at the opening of the Congress of Venezuela at Angostura; where

he submitted the plan of a republican constitution, and solemnly laid down his authority; though a strong representation of the exigencies of the times was again pressed upon him, and became his inducement to resume it. Availing himself of the rainy season to reorganize his forces, he set out on the 26th of February towards New Grenada in search of Morillo, who had selected the Isle of Achaguas, which is formed by the Apure, as an impregnable position. The royalist troops in that province had been routed by General Santander, and Bolivar anticipated that their coalition would decide the fate of the campaign: when, therefore, he had been reinforced by two thousand English troops, and had defeated La Torre, he used every exertion to this end, and succeeded in effecting the junction on the 13th of June. After receiving deputations from several towns of New Grenada, he resolved upon attempting the passage of the Cordilleras. Fatigue and privations of every kind were endured with exemplary fortitude in the advance of his forces through this wild, precipitous, and barren region, where they lost their artillery and most of their equipments, although they succeeded in reaching the neighbourhood of Tunja in the valley of Sagamoso on the 1st of July. They found its heights occupied by three thousand five hundred Spaniards: these were instantly attacked by Bolivar, and completely overthrown; the result placed Tunja in his power. The battle of Boyaca a few days afterwards gave him possession of Santa Fé. These two victories achieved the deliverance of New Grenada, and were accompanied by the surrender of Barreyro, the Spanish commander-in-chief, and the remnant of his army, together with all their arms, ammunition, horses, artillery, &c. "The advantages (observes Bolivar in his official dispatch) are incalculable which will result to the cause of the Republic from the glorious victory of yesterday. Our troops never triumphed more decidedly, and have seldom engaged soldiers so well disciplined, and so ably commanded." In Santa Fé, from which Samano, the viceroy, had scarcely time to escape, Bolivar found a million of piastres, and resources of every description; but more than this, he was joined by a host of

recruits, and enabled effectually to repair the losses he had sustained, both in the battles he had gained, as well as in the hardships he had encountered in crossing the mountains. The province which he had so signally emancipated, hailed him with enthusiasm as its deliverer; he was nominated President of New Grenada at Santa Fé; and in his proclamation of the 8th of September following, he complied with the public voice by reuniting this province with Venezuela.

Inaction was ill-suited to his disposition and the auspicious circumstances of the moment; but before he embarked in a new enterprise, he nominated General Santander as Vice-President, proposed an exchange of prisoners to Samano, regulated every thing that concerned the administration of the government, and made a levy of five thousand men. Having so done, he resumed his route to Angostura.

The fame of his successes had reawakened universal confidence throughout the province of Venezuela; his advance across that country resembled a triumphant progress; and the 17th of September 1819 crowned the great and dearest wish of his heart,—that the two provinces should form one undivided commonwealth; to which the Congress attached the title of "*Republic of Colombia*." A new capital was ordered to be constructed, which should be known to after ages by the illustrious name of Bolivar: in the interim, the provisional seat of the General Congress was directed to be fixed at Rosario de Cúcuta. Seven days had scarcely elapsed before Bolivar was again in motion at the head of the most formidable army which the independents had hitherto mustered; and the flames of intestine discord being extinguished, the promise of a happy and unclouded futurity dawned upon the fortunes of Colombia. Such indeed was the general spirit of animosity prevalent at this moment against the Spanish Government, which had endeavoured to prop its declining authority by acts of the most atrocious cruelty, that the people eagerly joined his standard from every quarter. The prospect of peace seemed no longer a dream, and the true friends of American liberty lent themselves to it with eager sincerity. On the 5th of January 1820, Bolivar made himself master of

Calaboso, and this was afterwards followed by a series of memorable advantages over his opponents; but no sooner was he informed of the favourable change which had taken place in the mother-country in the commencement of 1820, than he made proposals to Morillo for the purpose of terminating a contest which had involved both nations in so long a course of bloodshed and calamity. The Spanish general listened joyfully to these overtures; commissioners on both sides were dispatched to Truxillo, and speedily agreed to an armistice, by which Spain recognized Bolivar as President, or Supreme Chief of Colombia. In vain did Morillo's delegates endeavour to secure an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Spain over the two provinces; the independents would neither listen to their representations, nor subsequently to those of Morillo himself. During the continuance of these negociations, both commanders appeared to entertain sentiments of reciprocal esteem and admiration; nor could a more signal proof be given of the confidence which each of them placed in the honour and integrity of his late antagonist, than that they twice passed a whole night together within the same chamber at Truxillo.

On the conclusion of the armistice, in November 1820, the two armies retained the respective positions they had occupied previously to it, on the banks of the Unare and Guanare; but Morillo shortly afterwards returned to Spain, leaving La Torre in command of the Spanish forces; and about the same time the independents despatched M. Zea and two other commissioners to Madrid with a view to bring about a final pacification between the two Governments. The constancy with which the Colombians insisted upon an unreserved recognition of their independence, would probably, at all events, have rendered every attempt at such a pacification abortive: in spite, however, of this barrier, the Madrid negociations lingered on until the intelligence of the rupture of the armistice broke them off. On the 10th of March 1821, Bolivar announced to La Torre, that he would, in conformity with the terms of the armistice, renew hostilities on the 28th of April ensuing; being forty days after the notification he then made.

The privations to which his army was exposed in their cantonments, and the great mischiefs which were accruing to the cause of independence by the continuance of the armistice, were the principal motives which he assigned for adopting this course. In the beginning of May, therefore, Bolivar took the field with a force of upwards of eight thousand men, which he divided into three corps, respectively commanded by Generals Paez, Cedeno, and Anzuategui. These divisions advanced by separate routes to the plains of Tinaquillo, where they formed a junction on the 23d of June, and then advanced towards Calabozo, where the Spanish head-quarters were fixed. In their advance the independent army had to penetrate through a narrow precipitous defile in the mountains. The leading division was that of general Paez, who was at the head of the battalion of British troops, the battalions called "The Bravos of the Apure," and a corps of thirteen hundred horse. The position occupied by the Spaniards was one of great strength: the heights, commanding the only pass by which it could be approached were crowned with artillery; and the pass itself did not, in many places, admit of more than one person advancing at a time. At eleven in the morning of the 24th, Paez's division defiled in front of the enemy, under a heavy fire from the heights; and without waiting the advance of the other divisions, its gallant leader, as if impatient of dividing the victory with his brave colleagues, determined on an immediate assault of the Spanish position. In spite of the superior advantages, which numbers and strength of position afforded, his enemies were, in the short space of half an hour, driven from their intrenchments with great slaughter, by the valour and impetuosity of his troops, whose assault he led in person. Stores and artillery were alike abandoned by the vanquished, and victory smiled on the cause of freedom before the second division could arrive to share in its achievement: a few of its tirailleurs alone had come up, and at their head Cedeno impatiently placing himself, rushed upon a square of Spanish infantry, in the midst of which he and the greater part of his companions found a glorious death. The British troops distinguished themselves highly on this occa-

sion, and indeed were the principal instruments of this brilliant victory: nor was Bolivar slow to recognize their good conduct; he conferred upon the remnant of the battalion of which they consisted, the title of "Battalion of Calabozo," and on the surviving heroes, both officers and privates, the decoration of the order of Liberators. The Spaniards, after losing one half of their force in this decisive conflict, fled with dismay in the direction of Puerto Cabello.

The independence of this portion of the American continent was the happy consequence of the battle of Calabozo, and the first fruit which it yielded was the retaking of Caracas: whence Bermudez, who had already once captured it in the course of the campaign, had been almost immediately afterwards driven out by Colonel Pereira. Bolivar again retook it on the 30th of June without resistance; and four days afterwards, La Guayra capitulated, the garrison under Pereira being allowed to proceed by sea to Puerto Cabello. On the 6th of July, Bolivar (now called the President Liberator) declared Caracas the capital of the department of Venezuela, and transferred the Court of Admiralty from the island of Margarita to La Guayra. It has been stated, that not a white person was found in either of these once flourishing towns when Bolivar took possession of them; the only inhabitants remaining in them being a handful of Negroes. He issued a proclamation in consequence, entreating all its former inhabitants to return to the enjoyment of their properties, and solemnly assuring them, whether they were royalists or independents, of the future and sacred protection of the new Government.

The independent forces were now intent upon reducing the other towns which remained in the hands of the Spaniards. Carthagena capitulated on the 25th of September, and Cumana about a month afterwards. Puerto Cabello has, however, continued to baffle every effort to reduce it; and the possession of a superior naval force has enabled the Spaniards to do considerable mischief to the commerce and tranquillity of the neighbouring coast.

The General Congress had been summoned to meet at Rosario de Cúcuta on the 1st of January, but the delay which occurred in the assembling of the deputies prevented the formal opening of their sittings before the 1st of May. Other objects having called Bolivar away, Antonio Marino, the Vice-President of the Republic, was deputed by him to preside at its opening; on which occasion he addressed his colleagues in a tone of warm congratulation on the flattering prospects which the achievement of their independence held out. This was considered as the first *Colombian* Congress, and its first decree confirmed that of the Venezuelean legislature, which, in December 1819, had ordained the perpetual union of Venezuela and New Grenada, under the title of the "Republic of Colombia." An amnesty for all past offences was proclaimed; whilst every person, whatever might have been his political conduct or opinions, was promised the restoration of his property, on his taking an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the state.

After decreeing every possible mark of the national gratitude to their brethren in arms, the Congress applied itself diligently to the drawing up of the Constitutional Charter of the Republic, and closed its important labours on this head before the termination of the session. The constitution of the United States of America seems to have served as a model to the Colombian legislators, who vested the executive functions in a president and vice-president, and conjointly with them, the legislatorial office in a senate and house of representatives; making, however, a noble and beneficent improvement on the constitution which was their protötype, by abolishing slavery; declaring that the children of slaves born after the promulgation of the constitution should be free; and enjoining that measures should be adopted for gradually redeeming and emancipating all existing slaves. This object being dispatched, the Congress next discussed the plan for public education, and the laws for regulating the commerce of the Republic. Bolivar, who was elected President in conjunction with Santander as Vice-President, hesitated at first to accept this high office; but the general voice compelled him to give way; and

the same talents, activity, and perseverance, which entitled him to this just mark of the veneration and confidence of his fellow-countrymen, have ever since distinguished his exercise of the important dignity conferred upon him. The Congress having brought its useful labours to this termination, broke up on the 13th of October; and some weeks afterwards, Bolivar removed the seat of Government to Santa Fé de Bogota, to co-operate the more readily in the liberation of Quito and Cuença, and thus retain the former as the frontier province towards Peru, which is itself engaged in a struggle for its independence.

The introduction of the trial by jury, the toleration granted to all religions, and the establishment of schools on the Lancasterian system, are sufficient pledges of the provident and enlightened spirit by which the infant Republic and its high-minded President are actuated. Nor have its powerful neighbours, the United States, been slow to avail themselves of the opportunity, which the promise of its future prosperity affords, for advancing North American interests, by placing their relations with the Colombian people at an early hour on the most friendly footing. The President of the United States had already observed to Congress, "It has long been manifest that it would be impossible for Spain to reduce these colonies by force; and equally so, that no conditions short of their independence would be satisfactory to them." The American executive has since sealed this declaration, by formally recognizing the independence of South America, and appointing ministers to Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and others of the new governments. Surely, the character of that country whose sons have bled in the contest for South American freedom, and the dignity of that throne whose strength and glory consist in the affections of a free, enlightened, and generous people,—surely, neither the good name of Great Britain can be defiled, nor can its future prosperity be compromised, by taking example from its trans-atlantic offspring, and inscribing over the threshold of Colombian freedom its own sacred motto—"*Esto perpetua!*"

III.—PUBLIC DINNER TO DON F. A. ZEA,

Plenipotentiary from the Republic of Colombia.

The friends of South American independence, on Wednesday the 10th July 1822, entertained at dinner Don Francisco Antonio Zea, the plenipotentiary from the Colombian Republic. The dinner was given in the great room of the City of London Tavern; and every place, except those reserved at the cross table, was occupied before six o'clock. We have never seen a more highly respectable company assembled on any public occasion. At a quarter before seven o'clock, the Duke of Somerset, who had consented to act as chairman on this memorable occasion, entered the room. His Grace, assisted by Sir James Macintosh, introduced the Colombian plenipotentiary to a seat near the chair, the military band, stationed near the orchestra, playing "Hail, Colombia!" Amongst those who accompanied the Duke of Somerset on his entrance, we observed Mr Wilberforce, M. P., Sir R. Wilson, M. P., Dr Lushington, M. P., Mr Richard Martin, M. P., Sir W. Curtis, M. P., Mr J. Smith, M. P., Mr Edward Ellice, M. P., Mr J. Marryat, M. P., the Honourable C. H. Hutchinson, M. P., Mr T. Wilson, M. P., Mr Lennard, M. P., Mr W. Williams, M. P., Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, Mr Colvin, &c. &c.

The cloth having been removed, *Non nobis, Domine*, was sung by several professional gentlemen, who were engaged upon the occasion.

The toasts of "The King," "The Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal Family," "The Army and Navy," were given, each with three times three, and were followed by the usual national airs.

The Duke of Somerset then rose, and spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen,—I must now address to you a few words upon the occasion of our present meeting. With the general purport of it I believe you are fully acquainted, and I will therefore only briefly allude to some of its leading circumstances.

Amidst the changes which have occurred in the present age, the rise of the Colombian Republic holds a conspicuous place, and affords to the world at large, matter for the greatest congratulation. The happy and total alteration from oppressive despotism, both civil and ecclesiastical, to the establishment of a free and equitable government, and the ease and enjoyment of millions yet unborn of which it affords the prospect, must give pleasure to every liberal mind. We are highly sensible of the merits of those who have taken the lead in bringing about so beneficial a change; who have either led the armies, settled the constitution, or established the credit of the new country, and thus rescued the Colombian nation from oppressive laws and inquisitorial power, calculated to benumb every generous effort of the mind. But while we admit so much to be due to those who directed an effort as arduous as it promises to be beneficial, we must also allow much to be due to those who carried the same into effect. The Colombian people justly merit that liberty for which they so nobly bled. Vainly army upon army was sent to keep in a state of degradation, men who deserved, and who were determined to enjoy, the rights of freemen, and to abolish, throughout a tract extending from the source of the Amazon river to the mouth of the Orinoco, those restrictions by which they were debased, and deprived of both political and religious liberty. Thus the terrors of the Inquisition, and the punishment of torture, were at once swept away by the energies of a people emerging from the double tyranny of an oppressive Government and an intolerant Church. We cannot but wish a continuation of success to such a cause. We cannot but sincerely wish to be on terms of amity with such a people. We are happy in being now honoured with the company of their Representative, and I will, therefore, propose the health of M. Zea, the Plenipotentiary of the Colombian Republic.

The toast was drank with three times three, and the loudest expressions of applause.

M. Zea rose amidst the most cordial greetings, and, when silence was obtained, returned thanks in the French language; concluding his speech with the following toast:—

"The prosperity of Great Britain, the model of rational liberty, and a long continuance of friendly relations between Great Britain and the New Republic of Colombia."

This toast was drank with great enthusiasm.

Mr Rowcroft then stated to the company, that he held in his hand a pretty close translation of what M. Zea had said; and as it was the wish of the Noble Chairman, and of other Honourable Personages, that the whole of the company should be put in possession of M. Zea's sentiments, he would, with their permission, read his address to them. Indeed, even if M. Zea had spoken in English, his vocal organ was not sufficiently strong to be heard throughout the room. Mr Rowcroft then read the following address:—

My Lords and Gentlemen.—With sentiments of the most unmingled satisfaction I rise to express my cordial acknowledgments, my deep and lasting gratitude, for the honour you have just conferred on me, and on the nation whose humble representative I am. With feelings of equal delight shall I convey to my Government and my countrymen, the impression of the reception which I have this day experienced at your hands. They will perceive in it the sure pledge of that friendship which Providence destines to reign for ever between two nations, formed to promote each other's happiness and prosperity. With mutual wants, which each has the faculty of supplying to the other, Great Britain and Colombia have only to look forward to a long-enduring intercourse, on the basis of mutual benefit. Gentlemen, the struggle in which we have been engaged has been long and arduous. It has cost us sacrifices which I cannot pretend to describe to you. Nothing but a perseverance and a constancy, sustained by an innate sense of the justice of our cause, and encouraged by the protection of Heaven, could have enabled us to have overcome the difficulties and privations we have had to encounter. Now, however, that our hopes are consummated, and that we enjoy the satisfaction of living under a free constitution, of being governed by our own laws, the first desire of our hearts is to forget all past injuries. The loathsome and hideous tyranny of Spain, her cruel perseverance in a contest against

reason and humanity, will be forgotten throughout Colombia in the moment in which she shall accept the right hand of our friendship, so often held out to her. Our desire is to be at peace with all the world. Between the other nations of the earth and Colombia there are no points of collision. She desires to receive from Europe those productions of science and of art which tend to the convenience and improvement of life; and she is ready to yield, in return, from her boundless resources, those productions of nature which she possesses in such variety and extent. Looking thus to no intercourse with Europe but that of the most mutually useful kind, I trust we are advancing no vain or arrogant pretensions in simply claiming to be received as that which in truth we are—a free and independent nation. And why should we not be so received? What has been the foundation of the civil rights of all the nations of the earth? In the history even of this mighty empire, which now exercises such an immense moral influence over the whole earth, do its records show no period at which it has been also oppressed by foreign domination, and subsequently released from its enthralments? I hope it will be found, too, that the use we have hitherto made of our liberty has been such as to show that we are not unworthy of it. Our constitution, our public acts are before the world. Inasmuch as they tend to the advancement of human civilization, to the improvement of the human character, they possess claims within themselves which I need not urge upon an enlightened nation, nor will I attempt to draw the contrast they form to that unhappy system of government which Spain so long exercised over us. Let Britain, then, the mistress of her own acts, neither debased by superstition nor enslaved by despotism, be the first of the powers of Europe to accord to us the acknowledgment of our just and natural rights. She needs neither the example nor the consent of other nations to perform an act of pure and simple justice. Permit me now, Gentlemen, to express, on the part of my countrymen and myself, the esteem and respect in which the British character is held among us. It was in Great Britain that the first example of constitutional government was given to the

world: it is here that the spirit of a sound and rational liberty is ever preserved and cherished. It was in Great Britain that, at the time of her utmost need, Colombia found firm and faithful friends to come to her support. The injuries of Spain will soon be forgotten; the friendship of Great Britain will be cherished warm in our hearts, so long as life shall beat in them. I beg permission to propose to you this sentiment—

"Prosperity to Great Britain, the model of rational liberty, and a long continuance of friendly relations between her and Colombia."

Mr Smith then sung, with much taste, the following song, written for the occasion:—

"O! remember when first Orinoco's broad stream
Saw the banner of liberty wave—
When Alphonso awaken'd from pleasure's soft dream,
And rush'd forward his country to save.

When so kindly he bade his Florilda adieu,
And kiss'd the big tear from her cheek,—
O! how fond was the pledge,—the fulfilment how true!
Though no language the lovers could speak.

He dash'd off the tear, and he join'd Bolivar,
The foes of his land to o'ercome;
Not more true or more brave was that Hero in war;
They fought bravely—each fought for his home.

But the last hostile Spaniard has fled to the coast,
And Alphonso's return'd to his vale;
Peace, commerce, and plenty, Colombia boasts;
And her valleys re-echo the tale."

Sir J. Mackintosh rose amidst loud acclamations. When silence was obtained, he said, the toast which he was about to give, and which he should feel the greatest pleasure in proposing, was sufficient of itself to arrest the attention of the company. But still he deemed it necessary to preface that toast with a few observations on an occasion so remarkable, and he trusted so auspicious to the interests of England—an

occasion so much calculated to produce a more cordial union, and a more close alliance, between the nations of Europe and the New World. *(Applause)* On this important occasion, when the public sentiments of Englishmen were expressed in that manner which was most usual amongst them, he should be ashamed if he went much into the general topic of Colombian independence, of its causes and its probable consequences, after the eloquent manner in which the subject had been treated by the Representative of the Colombian Republic, and the sentiments and opinions that had been expressed by the second peer of this kingdom. *(Cheering.)* They were both persons who, from their situations, must be supposed worthy, and from what they had said, proved themselves to be worthy, of expressing the opinions of their respective nations on this, he trusted, happy occasion. *(Applause.)* The few remarks he meant to offer must, in the general sense of the word, be deemed political; but he would studiously avoid going into any topic on which he believed all Englishmen, of all sects and parties, did not cherish an unanimous opinion. *(Applause.)* He thought that he was perfectly safe in this particular, when he saw the assembly then before him—a sort of assembly of which the habit was peculiar to this free country—an assembly composed of various descriptions of persons—an assembly formed of different sects and religions—an assembly, the greater part of which was selected from the commercial interest of the greatest commercial city in the world—an assembly in which, according to the system of society in this country, one of the most distinguished peers in the kingdom gladly presided amongst commercial men. *(Cheers.)* This was one of the happiest habits of our Government, and of our social society. *(Cheers.)* It tended to give accumulated energy to public opinion; it tended to give additional strength to great, public, and popular measures; it linked together every rank of society, and wound its almost indissoluble ties through all the ranks of that community of which they were members! *(Cheering.)* It was favourable, at the same time, to public order and to public liberty. *(Applause.)* Those two principles, so far from being adverse to

each other, were not separable. *(Cheering.)* The cause of public order was the same as the cause of public liberty. *(Cheering.)* Public liberty was proved, by the glorious experience of ages, to be the parent and guardian, the origin and the support of public order. *(Cheers.)* Indeed, liberty was the parent of good. It was the motive which incited genius—it was the principle which inspired virtue—it was the actuating power which disposed the community to form wise and good institutions, and which also enabled the community to preserve them. *(Cheers.)* For his own part, he had always thought that the peace, prosperity, and happiness of other countries, must naturally be the great source of wealth to the most industrious and ingenious nations of the earth: and therefore, as he considered the prosperity and happiness of foreign countries highly important to this, so on the same, or rather on a more lofty ground, did he believe the liberty of England—the source of its prosperity—to be maintained, guarded, and improved, by the diffusion of freedom over the whole world. *(Great applause.)* It was not, therefore, on account merely of the general interest which every good man must feel, in viewing the happiness of his brother men, but it was more especially as a member of this great community, that he felt most deeply interested in the diffusion of liberty throughout the world. *(Applause.)* The society to which he was attached had a sufficiently arduous duty to perform; but it was only the duty of preserving that liberty which had been gained for them by the valour of their ancestors. But other nations, less fortunate, had a far more difficult duty imposed on them: Their duty was to acquire and to establish their freedom. Thanks to Heaven, and thanks to their forefathers, that duty had already been performed for the people of England. *(Applause.)* Still, let it never be forgotten, that it was a blessing too great to be given to mankind at a low price. Activity, vigilance—unceasing and jealous vigilance—intrepid courage, and inflexible virtue—these were the daily and hourly duties of those men who wished to enjoy and to inherit liberty. *(Applause.)* But they were placed in a far more difficult situation who attempted to throw off

the yoke of despotism. Still, if their toils and their dangers were greater and more arduous than the duties of those who had merely to preserve their independence, so was their glory greater and more transcendent if they conquered the obstacles that were opposed to them. His honourable friend, the Plenipotentiary of Colombia, had stated, better than he could, the cause of the changes which had occurred in that country. At the moment that the South American States commenced the struggle for independence, the mother-country was unable to protect them, the task of defending themselves devolved on those fine colonies; their independence was an act of necessity rather than of choice. Spain, incapable of affording them any relief, was herself overrun by foreign enemies. He hailed with joy the success of the Spanish population of South America; but while he did so, he expressed no sentiment adverse to the Spaniards of Europe. *(Cheers.)* No such feeling found a refuge in his breast. He knew the Spaniards of former days to have been distinguished by valour, by genius, by a chivalric spirit; by all those accomplishments which are worthy of a refined people. Latterly, they had excited his admiration, and the admiration of the world, by resisting foreign invasion, and controlling domestic tyranny.—*(Cheers.)* He admired them sincerely in both these situations—and above all, for the magnanimous toleration which they had shown in their victory over domestic enemies. The example which they had set to the world, by effecting almost bloodless revolution, after all the indignities and injuries they had suffered, was one of the most remarkable circumstances that could be found in the annals of history. He hoped that lesson would not be lost—he hoped it would prove to mankind, that the road to freedom was not through blood, but through humanity, through justice, through all those kindly virtues and amiable qualities which were inspired by freedom, and which alone rendered men worthy of attaining, and capable of enjoying it. *(Cheering.)* But he must say, when nations showed an absolute ignorance of the situation of their colonies—when they knew nothing of each other—when their policy, when their interests of every sort, were at variance,

he was rejoiced when the day of emancipation came—he was happy to see the colonies arrive at the period of maturity and majority, and, glorying in their strength, proceed to act for themselves, and declare that they were no longer under the tutelage of the mother-country. *(Applause.)* He was most happy to find that those beautiful regions which the Plenipotentiary of Colombia had so glowingly described, were restored to the commerce of nations, from which they had been so long interdicted. He did not mean "commerce" in its ordinary acceptation, though it had been the great means of disseminating freedom through the world, and had done more to benefit mankind, than all other human causes put together. No—he meant the free intercourse of mind and of opinion, the influence of which must end in giving to those vast countries a degree and station amongst nations, for which nature and Providence clearly intended them. *(Applause.)* He was, besides, deeply interested in the well-being of the Governments of South America, on account of their admirable conduct with respect to slavery. He should be ashamed to say much on this subject, in the presence of his illustrious friend, (Mr Wilberforce), a man who claimed veneration and admiration from every society in which his name was uttered, and who excited, if possible, a still stronger feeling amongst those societies which he honoured, as he did the present meeting, with his presence. *(Cheers.)* An honour, and a great honour it was, to have such a man amongst them. *(Cheers.)* When they saw European powers who had but a small interest in keeping up the slave trade, whose share in the profits was trifling, hesitate to remove it, and afterwards either carry it on or connive at it in the most disgraceful manner—when they saw those powers give themselves up to the infamy of carrying on this trade of robbery and murder—what execration was too deep for them? Let them, on the other hand, look to the conduct of the South Americans—there, Creolian prejudices might be supposed too strong to admit of any relaxation of slavery—there, the interest attached to the introduction of slaves might be considered too powerful a motive to be overcome—there, as there was the greatest temptation to

crime, there was the highest merit in virtue: and how had the people thus situated conducted themselves? The very first act of their independence was the abolition of the slave trade. *(Cheers.)* They would hear of this from more eloquent and more hallowed lips than his. Their first act was to sign the decree of humanity and justice. Having recovered their own freedom, they paved the way by measures as wise, as cautious, and as moderate, as human benevolence could devise, to the abolition of slavery itself. *(Cheers.)* These were the reasons which attached him to those new states, that had auspicated their origin, and consecrated their commencement, by acting in a manner which was a reproach to nations who had boasted that they would abolish that infamous traffic, but who had thought proper to support it. *(Cheers.)* He knew there were many persons whose ears were horrified at the sound of the word revolution—who could not bear the idea of a revolting people. On this point he would deliver his creed in a very few words—he considered revolt against liberty as the greatest of crimes, and revolt against despotism as the greatest of virtues. *(Loud cheering.)* The toast he should propose was—" General Bolivar and the army of Colombia." *(Cheering.)* He was not sufficiently acquainted with that illustrious individual's history to enter into any detail of his services. They all knew, however, that he had, by his wisdom, his bravery, and his integrity, secured the liberty of his country. *(Hear.)* There was, he was happy to say, a gentleman present who was well acquainted with the history of General Bolivar, and who, if they were pleased to hear him, would state such matter of local information as had come within his knowledge.

The toast was then drank with enthusiasm.

SONG—" Valiant Bolivar."

Air—" *Scots wha hae.*"

Albion's sons! by vict'ry blest,
Taught by toil the joys of rest,
Mark! where rises in the West
Freedom's dawning star!

Who, that Freedom to obtain,
Broke fell superstition's chain,
Burst the tyrant's bond in twain?
Who, but Bolivar!

Long, beyond the distant deep,
Sowing wealth she might not reap,
Sad Colombia "woke to weep,"
Chain'd tò vict'ry's car.
Now she struggles—now she's free!
Now across th' Atlantic Sea
Floats her banner—thanks to thee,
Valiant Bolivar!

Greet, then, Britons! warmly greet!
Welcome him whom now we meet—
Colombia's Envoy!—When retreat
Calls him hence afar,
Bid him, his own tribe among,
O'er th' Atlantic bear along
Britons' sympathetic song,
Back to Bolivar!

Who would blight so fair a flower!
Who would prop a despot's power!
Oh! may, on this festive hour,
No vile discord jar!
Fill your glasses; drink with me!
Joy to those who now are free!
To Colombia, Victory!
Health to Bolivar!

Mr Wilberforce said, the sentiment with which he meant to conclude would, he was well convinced, meet a most favourable reception from the present company. It was—"The entire and speedy abolition of the slave trade, and thanks to the Congress of Colombia for its efficient exertions towards that object." He was rejoiced to perceive the prospect that was opening around them. The darkness of slavery was receding—the light of freedom was already beaming with brilliancy, and they would shortly be enabled to hail a glorious day in its full meridian lustre. Scarcely had the Republic of

Colombia effected its own independence, when it endeavoured, as far as possible, to extend its influence to the most degraded and deserted of the human race. *(Applause.)* This shewed the general feeling and the moral effect which the high principle of liberty, that principle for which the Colombians had fought, produced on the human mind. *(Applause.)* It was undoubtedly a reproach to former times, and frequently to those governments which assumed the name of republics, that all power was given to the great, while the general mass of mankind were reduced to one common level of degradation. But he would say, and he was not ashamed to say it in that assembly, that Christianity had taught them a better and brighter lesson; it had taught them that they never enjoyed their own liberty with so much delight, as when they were communicating the blessing to their fellow-creatures. It was truly said by the great man who preceded him, that liberty and order were intimately connected. This was made evident by the conduct of the people of Colombia. They regarded their own rights; and while they wished to extend happiness to others, they endeavoured to do it in such a way as not to break in upon the rights of their neighbours. They studied what portion of good they could diffuse around them, without giving offence to any party. That was the road by which human nature travelled to greatness and true glory. It was delightful for those who proceeded in this course to see, in the decline of life, the progress which their exertions had made, and to hope that their descendants at least would enjoy the triumph of those principles which they had laboured to promulgate. *(Applause.)* When that excellent friend again returned across the Atlantic to his country—when he related the various scenes he had witnessed, and described the happiness which prevailed here—he would speak of them as the triumphant effects of a free constitution, which had the power of imparting dignity to a country in general, while it conferred a certain portion of gratification on every individual in the community. *(Applause.)* Their friend would state on his return, that he saw the nobility of this country throwing aside all individual privileges, and, on an occasion of this kind,

freely joining with their fellow-citizens. (*Applause.*) Such was the true effect of a rational liberty, and such a feeling would, he trusted, be recognized in the proceedings of the Colombian Republic. (*Applause.*) It rejoiced him to learn they had already shown their hostility to the slave trade; and he looked with confidence to their more matured exertions, convinced as he was that they would be attended with the most beneficial results. (*Applause.*)

Mr Marryat said, no stronger proof could be adduced of the interest which the people of this country felt in the independence of South America, than the number and respectability of the meeting which he had the honour of addressing. He perhaps entertained a stronger feeling on this subject than many others, because in the early part of his life he had an opportunity of witnessing the system of government adopted by Spain in her unfortunate South American colonies. It was a compound of the most cruel tyranny and bigotry. He did not think his person was safe while he remained there; he did not conceive that he was free until he breathed a different atmosphere. In the situation in which England was now placed, the most efficient relief would be derived from an extension of her commercial connexions, by discovering new markets for her commodities, and thus giving employment to her capital and industry. In looking for markets, he thought they must turn their eyes to those foreign nations which were neither their rivals in manufacture or navigation, to those countries who did not manufacture for themselves, but who were ready to take the manufactures of England in exchange for their commodities. South America stood precisely in that situation. There, industry might hope to receive the fair reward of its labour. In that quarter, employment might be found for industry to an almost infinite extent, He had no doubt but the independence of South America would produce a great revolution in the commercial world; and, before many years had elapsed, he expected to receive from those newly-erected states, various commodities, for which they now depended on particular countries. He knew not in the world, so wide, so unbounded a field for manufactures, as South America pre-

sented. *(Applause.)* The British Government had done a great deal towards acknowledging the freedom of South America. Two acts of parliament had been passed, by which commercial intercourse was opened between every part of our dominions and South America; and he hoped, ere long, Government would go farther, by publishing a regular recognition of the independence of the South American States. *(Applause.)* Great Britain ought neither to be the last in running the race of commercial enterprise, nor in acknowledging the independence of those who had boldly and honestly achieved it. *(Applause.)* The honourable gentleman concluded by proposing, " May the relations now forming between the New World and the Old be consolidated on the basis of lasting amity and mutual prosperity."

The toast was received with plaudits.

Dr Lushington could not refrain from offering his ardent and heartfelt congratulations on the great and signal triumph which had been gained by liberty over tyranny—by freedom over oppression—by reason over bigotry. He could not refrain from offering his humble thanks to Providence, that, after suffering and enduring grievances of the most odious character for a long period of years, the people of South America were at last released from bondage. *(Applause.)* After encountering difficulties, which to weak minds would have seemed insurmountable—after defeating open force and secret treason—the efforts of the people had succeeded, and the standard of liberty and independence waved in proud triumph over tyranny and despotism. *(Applause.)* Even if the sentiments of those whom he had the honour to address were not in strict accordance with his own with reference to what had taken place in South America, yet the feeling that the prosperity of that country must be beneficial to the world, and that England must come in for her share of that benefit, must induce the people of this country to look on those events with a most favourable eye. Thanks be to beneficent Providence, it could not so happen, that oppression should fall, and freedom should succeed—that new ports should be opened, and communications take place between distant parts of the world,

—in no point of view which the human mind could take of the subject could it be imagined, that in such a state of things benefit would not rise to the inhabitants of this favoured isle. *(Hear, hear.)* Those whom he now addressed knew infinitely better than he did, that there was not any country which did not, in a commercial point of view, afford some portion of advantage to Great Britain. There was no system so strict, no resistance so close, that the capital, enterprise, courage, and perseverance of the English merchant had not overcome, and made the source of individual benefit. How happened it, that each nation adopted commerce for its own benefit, and yet, if it pursued a wise system, these speculations which enriched itself, aided also the interest and prosperity of every other country? How should they admire the wise beneficence of that Power which made individual the foundation of universal prosperity! *(Applause.)* His learned friend who proposed with so much eloquence the health of General Bolivar, omitted to mention one circumstance, which in his (Dr Lushington's) mind deserved to live in the memory of every man who was the friend of liberty and humanity. He would call to the recollection of his learned friend, and of the meeting, that in 1816, while the war was raging in South America in its most sanguine and atrocious shape; while that then unhappy country was open to the inroads of its most inveterate foes, General Bolivar published his celebrated proclamation, forbidding every one from inflicting death, except on the field of battle. He would not suffer the people to revenge even just wrongs, by murder or cold-blooded slaughter. *(Applause.)* He taught his friends, that it only required courage and perseverance, to succeed in the cause of freedom; and he showed his enemies that mercy was always the concomitant of true bravery. *(Cheers.)* It was on this principle that he fought and conquered, and secured the freedom of his country—an event which, thank God! this meeting of Englishmen had assembled to celebrate. He meant to propose as a toast "The Congress of Colombia;" and he was happy to say it was not in expression only that that body had shewn themselves worthy of this honour.

Every act they had done was in conformity with all those enlightened principles which ought to guide and regulate a great assembly, who were providing for the happiness and security of those who were placed beneath them; or, in one single word, they imitated as far as they could the example of England. *(Applause.)* The greater part of the errors and distresses of human nature arose from ignorance. The Government of Colombia were endeavouring to remove that source of evil. They felt that, if knowledge were spread through those distant countries, it would be the best protection of their newly acquired liberties. They were impressed with the idea, and it was a most correct one, that knowledge was necessary to impart those qualities which rendered men fit for enjoying, because it enabled them to estimate truly the blessings of liberty. But this was not all:—they had gone so far, in this infant Republic, as to establish a system of trial by jury. *(Cheers.)* He need not say how valuable trial by jury was.—Could they exist as a free community if that inestimable right were taken from them? Would they have met this day to celebrate the cause of South American independence, if they had been deprived of trial by jury? *(Applause.)* He hoped that as information made its way through the infant Republic of Colombia, the people would learn to appreciate truly this invaluable privilege, and establish it on the soundest principles. *(Applause.)* He trusted that such a system would be adopted as would give permanency to this privilege, and, at the same time, bring it into immediate operation. *(Applause.)* He would conclude by drinking—

"The Congress of Colombia, and may the deliberations of wisdom consolidate the successes which valour and constancy have gained."

The toast was drank with immense applause.

Sir W. Curtis next rose. He would not attempt to follow the eloquent gentlemen who had preceded him through the various topics they had so forcibly urged. It would be sufficient for him to say, that he heartily concurred in all that had fallen from them. They were assembled on the present occasion to commemorate an event the most important that had

occurred in the last century. This was not a political meeting; it was one on the object of which they were all agreed. Possessing as we did the full enjoyment of political liberty, and exercising it under a mild and beneficent Government, he thought it right to call the attention of the assembly to that Government, by proposing the health of "His Majesty's Ministers"—three times three; which was drank accordingly.

Mr Smith said that a toast had been put into his hands for the purpose of being proposed, the sentiments of which were most congenial to his feelings. He could not help regretting that Old Spain, whilst she was struggling for her own liberty, on what appeared to him (Mr J. Smith) just principles, refused to admit the claim of Colombia to hers: but he trusted the day was not far off when she would no longer hesitate to acknowledge it. Having said so much, he would not add another word upon such a subject, but conclude with proposing, "The King, the Cortes, and the people of Spain: may all nations acknowledge the right of Spain to a Constitution; and may Spain acknowledge the same right in the people of Colombia." (*Drank with applause.*)

Sir Benjamin Hobhouse proposed the next toast. He said that a request had been made to him before he entered the room, than which nothing could have been more gratifying to his wishes. It was to propose the health of their noble chairman. (*Cheers.*) It was a source of pride and of honour to this meeting to have so distinguished an individual for their chairman. If he (Sir B. Hobhouse,) had not before been certain that the cause which brought them together was most excellent, he should have been certain of it the moment he learned that the noble Duke would preside, (*Hear*); and had he not learned that the noble Duke would preside, still he should have been certain of it from his knowledge of his friend (M. Zea) who sat upon his Grace's right. (*Hear.*) After some further complimentary observations, the honourable baronet concluded by expressing the great pleasure he felt in proposing the health of a nobleman, not more distinguished by birth than by his talents and true nobility of soul—

the health of the Noble Chairman, the Duke of Somerset. *(Loud cheers.)*

Upon the Duke of Somerset's health being drank, he again rose, and spoke as follows:—

Though I am persuaded there are many who would have been much more competent than myself to fill the situation to which I have been called, still I cannot but feel highly flattered at having been selected upon an occasion, the object of which is to testify our satisfaction at one of the greatest and most gratifying of political events, and to do honour to a person who deserves so much from his country and from the world. I am proud of thus testifying my sense of the success of Colombia, and of the merits of its Representative; and more happy in doing so, to an assemblage chiefly consisting of British merchants,—a class of men always foremost in promoting public objects, and whose liberal feelings must be particularly gratified in contemplating the standard of liberty now flying even upon the heights of Quito.

Mr T. Wilson felt that any observations coming from him, after the eloquent speeches that had been made that evening, could only have a similar effect to that of water after wine. He should therefore merely observe, that no man participated in all the sentiments that had been uttered more than he did. Indeed it might be recollected, that no person took a greater interest in the subject than he did at the time that the House of Commons opposed the sending of arms to South America. *(Hear.)* He had now only to offer his congratulations upon the successful issue of this most arduous struggle; and if he could not express himself in good English, he would conclude with a short sentence in bad Spanish, which the noble individual near him (M. Zea) would probably understand. The Honourable Member then proposed a toast complimentary to the Colombian State and her Minister, and added his wish *que viva mil años*. *(Hear.)*

Mr Lennard professed his admiration of the men who had displayed so much bravery and perseverance in the cause of liberty, and having at length succeeded in driving forth despotism from their country, had substituted freedom and good

Colombian loan, calculated to excite doubts as to its validity, the contractors called, by advertisement, a meeting of the Holders of Colombian Bonds at the City of London Tavern, to receive information on the subject of the contract.

The room was crowded to excess. Mr J. D. Powles and the other contractors entered the room; and, in the absence of the Lord Mayor and Alderman Wood, both of whom were expected, Alderman Bridges took the chair.

As soon as the chair had been taken, Mr Powles proceeded to lay before the meeting, an explicit statement of all the proceedings connected with M. Zea's powers, the progress of the loan, and the obligation on the Government of Colombia to acknowledge the transactions of M. Zea.

STATEMENT PRESENTED TO THE MEETING.

" The contractors for the Colombian loan have thought it right to call the present meeting, for the purpose of shewing to the holders of the bonds the precise foundation on which this loan rests, and thereby removing the many misconceptions which they perceive to prevail respecting it.

" The late M. Zea, who was known to that part of the British public which had given its attention to the affairs of South America, as having been for some time Vice-President of Venezuela, and as having, on the formal union of Venezuela and New Grenada, under the title of the Republic of Colombia, been appointed Vice-President of Colombia, arrived in London in the month of June 1820, charged with full powers as minister-plenipotentiary of the Republic. Nothing could be more ample than the construction of these powers. They invested him ' with the whole representation of Colombia for every species of affairs;'—' with power to appoint resident or extraordinary ministers;'—' consuls, agents, and commissioners;'—' to establish the public credit on a solid and permanent basis;'—' to treat and agree with the creditors on the means of ensuring the payment of their respective claims,' &c. &c. It appeared, in short, as if the Government

of Colombia had desired to place its whole power, for all purposes in Europe, in the hands of M. Zea, which, considering the leading part that he had taken in establishing the liberty of his country, and his having, for a considerable time, held the second office in the state, only served to shew to those with whom he held intercourse, that he enjoyed from his country that confidence which his long services might seem to entitle him to.

"That no possible deficiency might arise in the powers of M. Zea, the Congress of 1819 passed a special decree, authorizing the President to grant him extraordinary powers to meet any emergencies that might arise pending his mission in Europe, to which the authority of the President might prove inadequate.

"On his arrival in England, one of the first objects to which M. Zea directed his attention, was the situation of the parties who had claims on the Republic. He consulted his friends on the expediency of raising a loan to discharge these claims. He was strongly recommended to postpone any such attempt, until circumstances should be more favourable to its success. He therefore called the creditors together, and after two meetings, at which M. Zea stated to them that the country was rich in resources of the most productive kind, that nothing but time was necessary to mature them, and that it wanted neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge claims which it held to be of the most sacred character,—it was agreed that he should issue transferable debentures to the creditors for the amount of their respective claims, bearing interest, 10 per cent if paid in England, or 12 per cent if paid in Colombia; and the debentures were issued accordingly.

"As his authority for doing this, M. Zea furnished the committee of the creditors with an extract from his powers, of which a copy is hereunto annexed.—[No. I.]

"The committee of creditors gave notice, on the 16th November 1820, to General Bolivar, the President of the Republic, of the arrangement they had made with M. Zea, and of the consequent issuing of the debentures.

"On the 1st May 1821, the first payment of interest on the debentures became due, when M. Zea published an advertisement in the London newspapers, of which a copy is annexed.—[No. II.]

"In July 1822, a part of the debentures was presented to the Government at Bogota, the capital of Colombia, amounting to £.1,759. 6d.; and one year's interest was received upon them by the holder. These are the only debentures that are known to have ever been presented at the capital. It has been stated, that some have been presented at the custom-houses at the outports to be received in payment of duties, and that the answer given to them was, that the collectors of customs could not receive them without orders from the Government.

"This history of the creation of the debentures is given, because some erroneous impressions appear to prevail respecting them among persons uninformed of the facts.

"After issuing the debentures, M. Zea went from London to Paris, and subsequently to Madrid. In the latter part of 1821 he returned to Paris. The aspect of Colombian affairs was continually improving. In June 1821 the decisive battle of Carabobo was fought, which ended in the whole coast, with the exception of one fortress, falling before the close of the year into the hands of the Colombians. The internal organization of the country was at the same time rapidly advancing.

"In the early part of 1822, the contractors for the loan received information, that M. Zea was inclined to proceed seriously to a measure which had several times been discussed; viz. the raising a loan for the service of the Republic. They accordingly met him at Paris in March last, and concluded a contract for the loan of two millions sterling, at 80 per cent, bearing 6 per cent interest.

"The power under which this loan was raised has been published, and the original shewn to every person applying to see it.—It is signed by General Bolivar, the President, who states himself to act 'under the special authority and powers with which the Congress invested him;' and countersigned by

M. Revenga, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, now in London.

"The loan has been appropriated to the service of the Government of Colombia, in paying off its debt in Great Britain, in sending it supplies, and in other payments for account of the Government, directed by M. Zea. M. Zea has not drawn from the loan for his own purposes more than a few thousand pounds. The amount of the debt, and the interest which has accrued thereon, paid out of the loan, is £.777,220. 8s. 2d. By agreement with M. Zea, the contractors, in order to afford ample time for remittances for the interest to come from Colombia, and to prevent the possibility of any failure in the punctual payment of the dividends to the bond-holders, were to retain from the loan the amount necessary for the four first half-yearly payments of interest. This has accordingly been done. They have paid the first half-year's interest, and they retain in their hands the amount of three more half-yearly payments.

"M. Zea always stated, in all the contractors' communications with him, that nothing but time was wanted for the complete organization and development of the resources of Colombia; that the debt of the country was as nothing compared with the extent of those resources, when agriculture should be generally resumed, and the mines should be at work, (the revenue from which he described as being very considerable); a representation which was certainly borne out to the contractors by the information received by themselves from that country.

"Since the conclusion of this loan, two documents have appeared in this country, which have given rise to great agitation—the first, a Proclamation, dated Bogota, the 1st June, from the Vice-President, declaring that no person was authorized to make engagements on behalf of the Republic, and that M. Zea was only authorized for political purposes; and the second, a letter from Don Pedro Gual, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to M. Zea, dated September 29. 1822, and annexing copy of one of the 15th October of the preceding

year, in which M. Zea was directed no longer to exercise his functions in Europe.

"The first of these papers reached England in October 1822, six months after the loan was contracted; and the second in the present month.

"The first observation that arises on these papers is, that no notice of any kind can take a retrospective effect, or have any influence on transactions previously concluded. Not the slightest intimation had ever been given in Europe that M. Zea's powers had been revoked; and it is but justice to the memory of that gentleman to say, that, independently of his public and solemn declaration in his letters of the 22d October and the 4th November, [Nos. III. and IV.], that his powers and his instructions remained in force without the slightest alteration, there are the strongest possible reasons for concluding that no notice of his recall ever reached him. All his acts tend to establish this impression. On the 8th April last, nearly a month after this loan was concluded, M. Zea made a formal demand, by an official note addressed to the different Governments of Europe, of the recognition of the independence of Colombia, which was published in the newspapers. In May he sent his secretary from Paris to London with dispatches to the late Lord Londonderry on the same subject. On his arrival in London afterwards himself, he had one or more interviews with that nobleman. In July or August he received from the Portuguese ambassador the acknowledgment of the recognition of Colombia by that Government; and in September last he came from Cheltenham to London for the purpose of meeting the Swedish ambassador, with whom he had important negociations. These circumstances are far from showing any thing like a consciousness on the part of M. Zea of his having been recalled; and it will be observed, that they all occurred before the partial restoration of his powers, which the Minister for Foreign Affairs states in his letter took place on the 1st of June by the Vice-President's proclamation, that document not having arrived in Europe till October following. At any rate, if M. Zea was conscious of his recall, nobody else in Europe could

know any thing about it, while he continued to exercise all the functions of his office, without any visible diminution of his powers, without the appointment of any successor to replace him, or the slightest external circumstance by which that fact could be known to others. The authorities in Colombia appear to have been as little aware of the recall as parties in Europe; for in the month of August last a gentleman arrived in London direct from the Intendant of Caracas, with orders for particular supplies of which he was in need, and with a dispatch *from the Intendant to M. Zea, directing him to furnish the necessary funds for the purpose, which were considerable, and which M. Zea did by an order on the contractors for the loan.*

"Many other collateral circumstances might be mentioned, which serve to shew an entire unconsciousness on the part of M. Zea of his recall; and not the least among them is the fact of his having come from Paris to England in the month of June last, and remained in this country till the day of his death, 28th November (1822) last.

"If, however, M. Zea has contracted this loan, and done all the other acts which he has been openly seen to do as Minister of Colombia, *after* having received his recall, it is towards his own Government that he has failed in his duty; and to that Government, if he had been living, he must have accounted for his conduct. Neither the contractors nor the British public were called upon to place faith in M. Zea; their faith was necessarily in the powers which he deposited with them. It was the Government of Colombia which placed its confidence in M. Zea, and invested him with its powers. If it intended that he should no longer use those powers, it was the plain and clear duty of the Government to have either withdrawn them from his custody, or taken effectual means to acquaint the world (and particularly that part of it to which M. Zea's powers applied) that they were revoked. On this point the contractors have the satisfaction of referring to the opinions of some of the most eminent legal authorities, which they have thought it right to take, in confirmation of what they have urged, although it is clear that any other

doctrine would be at variance with every principle which regulates either the transactions of common life, or any dealings with the Ministers of foreign States.

"The contractors are persuaded, that whatever misconception the Government of Colombia may labour under with respect to the proceedings of M. Zea in regard to this loan, it is to be attributed to the unfortunate non-arrival of his dispatches in Colombia. By the official letter of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, it appears that no communication had been received from M. Zea of a later date than the month of January last. The motive or the object for intercepting M. Zea's dispatches written from France, the contractors have no means of ascertaining; but they do know, on most positive information, that M. Zea's dispatch sent from Paris, containing the contract for the loan executed there, has been seen in London within the last ten days, and the contract enclosed in it.

"Knowing this, as well as many other circumstances not necessary here to be stated, the contractors cannot but believe that M. Zea has been the victim of much misrepresentation in Colombia. It is notorious that the price he obtained for the loan was ample, and highly creditable to his good management. He raised the credit of his country to a very high pitch considering the circumstances in which it stood; and with the most prudent forethought he has arranged the terms of repayment in such a manner as to meet the growing resources of the country.

"M. Zea's acts must, however, speak for themselves. All the contractors have to do is, to show to the bond-holders the solid foundation of the contract, and to the Government of Colombia the appropriation of the money. For this latter purpose, as well as to give full information on all points to that Government, the contractors have dispatched a confidential representative of their interests to the capital, with the contract for the loan, and a full statement of the accounts. They anticipate with the utmost confidence the most satisfactory results from this mission, and the entire removal of every doubt respecting it. To suppose that the Colombian Govern-

ment can follow a different course from that by which all civilized nations are bound in a matter of public justice and good faith, would be to impute to it a line of conduct as contrary to the whole course of its proceedings hitherto, as at variance with its interests. M. Zea has not sacrificed the interest of his country in obtaining for it a loan at 80 per cent, nor in paying off a debt bearing 10 per cent interest, by creating another paying only 7½.

" The contractors hope that, from the first moment of the pending discussions, they have shewn the utmost readiness to afford, without reserve, every possible information to the parties interested: they will continue to follow the same course, and they trust that, from the statement now submitted to this meeting, it will appear to the bond-holders that they have nothing to do but to await the result of the information which has been sent to the Colombian Government, confident that on no principle of honour, of justice, of good faith, or of interest, can the contract for this loan be questioned.

" The contractors have only to add, that on the recent arrival of M. Revenga in this city, they laid before him the contract for the loan, the power under which it was raised, and the account of the appropriation of the proceeds. M. Revenga acquainted them, that he should send the account to the Government, but that he had no authority to interfere in respect to the loan, the Government not having, up to the 29th September last, received any official notice of any loan having been contracted for its account, and it following, as a matter of course, that the Government could not give directions to approve or disapprove that of which officially it knew nothing. M. Revenga admitted the signature to the power to be his hand-writing, at the time that he was Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(Signed) " CHARLES HERRING.
" WM. GRAHAM.
" J. D. POWLES."

" *London, January* 11. 1823."

Annexed to this statement, were the opinions of Dr Lushington, the Solicitor-General, and Mr Serjeant Lens, which were decidedly in favour of the validity of the loan on the part of the contractors, and its binding character, upon every principle of public policy and good faith, on the Colombian Republic.

CASE.

" The Government of Colombia dispatched M. Zea to Europe in the early part of the year 1820, as its Minister Plenipotentiary, he being then also Vice-President of the country. On his arrival in London the creditors of the Republic of Colombia called upon him to gain information as to the prospect of obtaining payment of their claims. He called them together, and informed them that the country was rich in resources of the most productive kind, and required nothing but time to draw them forth after the long contest in which it had been engaged—that the creditors might place the most implicit reliance both on its integrity and its means of paying every claim upon it; and that in the mean time the Government was ready to enter into any measure for the ease and satisfaction of the creditors, consistently with justice to both parties. After two meetings between the principal creditors and M. Zea, it was agreed that M. Zea should issue transferable debentures to the creditors for the amount of their respective claims, bearing an interest at the rate of 10 per cent if paid in London, or 12 per cent if paid in Colombia. As his authority for doing this, M. Zea produced a power, signed by the President of the Republic, of which an extract is herewith, (No. 1.); and the debentures were accordingly issued.

" During M. Zea's residence in England, and subsequently at Paris, he was in communication with various persons on the subject of raising a loan for the service of Colombia. Circumstances, however, did not favour his endeavours until the 13th March 1822, when M. Zea entered into a contract at Paris for a loan of two millions sterling; as his authority for which he deposited in the hands of the contractors the power, of which a copy is herewith, (marked No. 2.) The bonds for this loan are in general circulation.

" No. 3. is copy of a Proclamation issued at Bogota the 7th July 1822, and received in England in October the same year.

" Nos. 4. and 5. are copies of Letters addressed by M. Zea to the Contractors for the Loan, in consequence of that proclamation.

" No. 6. is a copy of two Letters addressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia to M. Zea.

" No. 7. is copy of the Official Note demanding the recognition of Colombia, addressed by M. Zea to all the Governments of Europe the 8th April 1822, (twenty-six days *after* making the loan), which would serve to shew that he was unconscious of the alleged revocation of his powers alluded to in No. 6. In May he sent his Secretary from Paris with dispatches to the late Lord Londonderry on the same subject; and it is known that the Governments of both Portugal and Sweden had important communications with M. Zea (as the Minister of Colombia), resulting from this Note, down to September last.

" No. 8. is copy of a Letter from Mr Droop, a merchant of London, to the contractors, acknowledging having received one year's interest on some of M. Zea's debentures, at the capital of Colombia.

" In consequence of the circumstances disclosed in these documents, considerable agitation has been excited in the minds of the holders of Colombian bonds.

" Dr Lushington's opinion is requested on the following points:—

" 1. Can M. Zea's authority to raise the loan be considered as revoked, as regards parties with whom he might treat, until that revocation was made public?

" 2. Supposing M. Zea to have received notice of his recall, previous to his having concluded the contract for the loan, concealing that fact from the contractors and the public, is the validity of the loan, as between the contractors and the Government, affected thereby?

" 3. It having been published in the Bogota Gazette of October 1821, that M. Zea no longer held the office of Vice-

President of Colombia (another Vice-President having been appointed), without noticing any other change of any kind in his functions—was not this in effect to be understood as notice to the world, that his powers as Minister Plenipotentiary remained unaltered, and that, in fact, the circumstance of his continuing to be Minister Plenipotentiary in Europe incapacitated him from remaining Vice-President of Colombia?"

OPINION.

"*1st.* M. Zea's powers to effect a settlement with the creditors of Colombia, and to raise a loan for the benefit of that country, are not only most explicit and comprehensive, but bear every mark of being publicly and formally authenticated by the Government whose representative he was. His special powers are not only signed by the President of that Republic, but his specific powers, under the same signature, are stated to have been conferred in pursuance of the special authority with which the Congress had invested the President for that particular purpose. Authority more complete and ample could not be conferred on any individual. In substance and in form, they were fully adequate to pledge the faith of Colombia to any loan *bona fide* raised under those instructions. I am decidedly of opinion, that with respect to third parties, to all *bona fide* contracting on the faith of those powers, they remained in full force and validity until their revocation was made known to them *de facto*, or until such public notification of the revocation had been given, that third parties could not have been ignorant of the fact of revocation without wilful or culpable negligence.

"It was the duty of the Government of Colombia to make the revocation publicly known; the *onus* of so doing rests with them; and if through negligence or incaution they have omitted so to do, either by recalling their agent, or by not giving sufficient publicity to the revocation, the faith of the Colombian Republic is pledged to make good the contracts entered into by him under the authority originally committed to him; and this upon every principle which combined nations or

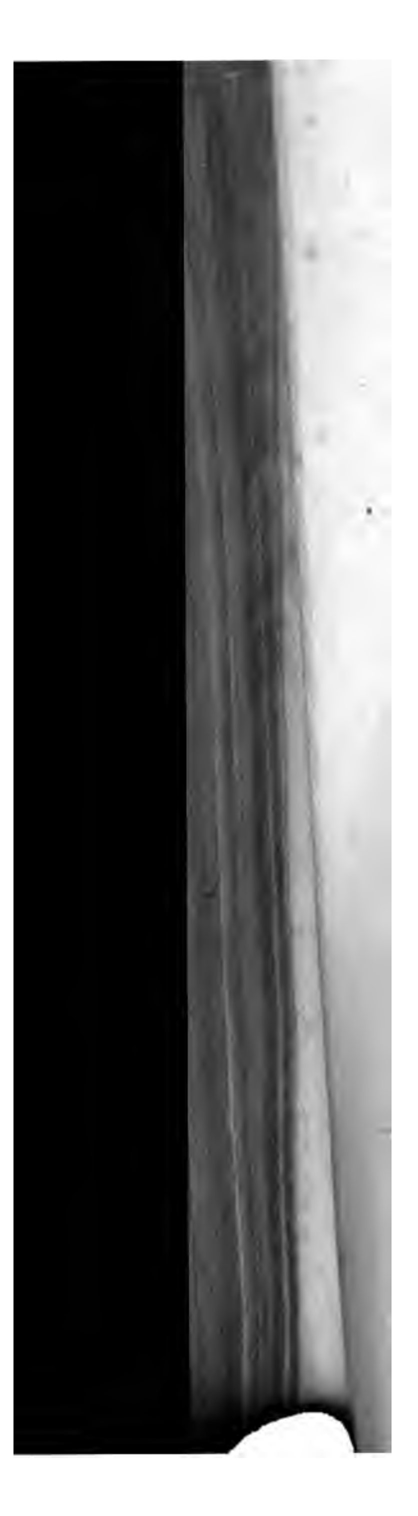
individuals, viz. that whosoever delegates his own powers to another, is bound by the acts of his agent within the power delegated, until notice of the revocation has been actually received, or the publicity of that revocation so notorious, that the presumption of universal knowledge of the fact must prevail.

"*2d.* I am of opinion, referring to what I have already written, that the validity of this loan cannot be impugned by the fact of M. Zea having received a revocation of his powers, and concealed that revocation from the contractors and the public, and on a principle which I conceive to be indisputable—namely, that those who delegated M. Zea, must be responsible for his fidelity and integrity; and that third parties, who had no voice in his selection, who reposed no trust in him individually, but relied on his powers duly authenticated, cannot be made answerable for any concealment or breach of trust by him committed, to which they were not actually privy.

"*3d.* The answer to this question appears to me mainly to depend upon, whether, by any public documents, or by the particular terms used in conferring these special authorities on M. Zea, it was to be clearly inferred that they were annexed to, and indissolubly connected with his office of Vice-President. All the documents I have read lead me to a conclusion directly the reverse. Indeed, in the nature of the employments, the office of Vice-President in Colombia has no obvious or necessary connexion with the powers granted to envoys to be exercised in foreign states. Consequently the revocation of the office of Vice-President carries with it no inference that the other authorities with which M. Zea was invested were revoked. On the contrary, I am of opinion, that entire silence as to M. Zea's authority as foreign minister justified the conclusion that they remained undiminished and unrevoked.

(Signed) "STEPHEN LUSHINGTON."

"*January* 10. 1823."



The same Case having been sub
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dealt with him under the persuasion that he still sustained the same character, and represented the Government on whose behalf he professed to act.

"*3d.* The publication in the Bogota Gazette of October 1821, notifying that M. Zea no longer held the office of Vice-President, furnishes no just inference either way as to any other power he might have, not immediately derived from such office of Vice-President, or necessarily expiring with it.

(Signed) "JOHN LENS."

"*Sergeants Inn, January* 10. 1823."

The Chairman expressed the gratification he felt at hearing such a statement as that which had been just made by Mr Powles, and was sure it would impart universal satisfaction. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Bayley thought it important that some definite expectation should be held out to the holders of Colombian stock, respecting the probable time when the Government of South America might return an answer to the formal applications already transmitted respecting this loan.

Mr Powles replied, that when M. Zea's illness assumed an alarming appearance, the contractors dispatched intelligence of that fact to the Colombian Government, and detailed fully the whole of the pecuniary concerns and conditions of the loan. Since M. Zea's death, a person specially authorized by the contractors, and having full powers to act for them, had been sent out to Colombia, so that in a very short time answers might be expected. Before next June there was every reason to expect a full communication from the person so sent out.

Mr Moxen wished to know in what manner the funds raised by the Colombian stock had been disbursed for the use of the South American Government: also, how many conferences the contractors had had with M. Revenga since his arrival. He thought it rather extraordinary that M. Revenga, who knew the contemplated arrangements for the loan before he set out the last time from Europe for South America, should have returned from the Colombian Government now, and not

bring with him their decisive determination respecting the loan contracted by their agent. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Powles replied, that with respect to the nature of the disbursements of the loan, it was enough to say that they were duly applied to the uses of the Colombian Government; but he hoped that the particular items would not at present be called for; it would be an act of indelicacy towards the new Government, which, he was sure, one respectable merchant would not impose upon another in their private commercial transactions. The moment that the business was adjusted, there would be no difficulty in giving the fullest explanation of all the particulars. He then added, that with reference to what was said respecting M. Revenga's foreknowledge of the loan, all he could say was this—that in the month of October 1821, he saw M. Revenga at Bourdeaux, and that gentleman then conversed and communicated with M. Zea on the subject of paying off the English claimants upon the South American Government, and he concurred in the propriety of raising the money by way of loan, should such a mode be practicable; and he recommended it to M. Zea, if he saw no other means of accomplishing the object. When the contractors saw M. Revenga lately on his arrival in town, and asked him how it happened that his Government had not promptly approved that which their two accredited agents deemed at the time expedient? his reply was this—" Would you have any Government in the world ratify a transaction of which they had never been officially apprised, and which was only known to them through the channel of newspapers? In the absence of all dispatches, how could their ratification be returned?" (*Hear, hear.*) M. Revenga did, at the interview at Bourdeaux alluded to, say that he thought a loan might be raised upon better terms in France, where the Colombian Government had not incurred any debts; and he added, that he should inform his Government of the powerful reasons which dictated such a step. He (Mr Powles) at that interview offered to take half the amount of any loan in England upon the same terms at which it was negociated in France.

A gentleman here requested that the letter of M. Revenga might be read. It was read accordingly, and is as follows:—

"LETTER FROM M. REVENGA TO M. ZEA.

"*Bourdeaux, October* 20. 1821.

"My esteemed M. Zea,—The arrival of Mr Powles express from Paris, has afforded me the opportunity of explaining myself with regard to a misunderstanding which occurred when we were considering the means of raising funds for paying the interest which is due on the debt of our Government in England, and particularly upon the loan regarding which I spoke to you. Repeating what I have already written in my former letter, as to my total want of wishing to interfere in this business, I nevertheless think it necessary, for the credit of our Republic, that it should maintain its credit on a good footing in Europe, thus doing justice to the English creditors; and that if there is no other mode of satisfying the interest due, I do not hesitate to assert, that it will be proper to open a loan for that purpose. I have no data upon which to estimate the terms upon which this may be effected, though I see they would be more favourable if solicited and obtained in France, where we have no creditors as we have in England, and where there is at present an amicable disposition towards Colombia. The offer which Mr Powles, and the gentlemen associated with him, has made, of taking the half upon as advantageous terms as may be offered to you by any other individual, will facilitate it in a great degree. We have already spoken and agreed with those gentlemen as to the highest rate of interest which should be offered for such a loan, as well as upon the form which should be given to the obligations. Not having any thing to add upon this subject, I shall only say, that my conviction of the importance of making this payment, induces me to believe that the Government will approve any sacrifice (compatible with the instructions given to you) that shall be necessary for realizing it. I shall further consider it my duty to inform the Government of the powerful reasons which have urged this measure. I am, &c.

(Signed) "JOSEPH R. REVENGA."

Mr Cohen thought it his duty to state, that being for his friends largely interested in the Colombian loan, he had called upon the contractors for an explanation of their business; and he had received that explanation in the fullest and most satisfactory manner. He had called for the purpose of ascertaining how the matter really stood, thinking it better to know any probable result, rather than be exposed to every kind of agitation and uncertainty. Having had this experience of the readiness of the contractors to act in the most open and honourable manner, he had come prepared to submit certain resolutions to the meeting, which he would read after asking a single question. Did M. Revenga state his private opinion that the Colombian Government would ratify the loan, although he declined giving any official promise?

Mr Powles said, that within an hour after M. Revenga's arrival in town, the contractors waited upon him; and they had afterwards two or three other meetings with him upon the subject; and at one of these he said, "If you ask me my opinion as a man or a friend, I will tell you I think the loan will be ratified, and that you may make your minds easy upon the subject: but officially, I have no authority to make any such declaration." On a subsequent occasion he expressed his displeasure at his private opinion having been promulgated to other parties, as he had only delivered it confidentially and unofficially. The contractors replied, that when he gave it, he imposed no injunctions upon them: that even if he had, they could not have obeyed them, for they were bound to give the whole of the information which reached them to all interested in the loan; and they added, that he was to consider always such to be the nature of the communications between them. *(Applause.)*

Mr Cohen then submitted a string of resolutions, explanatory of the conduct of the contractors, and the prospect of realizing their object.

Before these resolutions were put from the chair, several gentlemen put questions to Mr Powles upon the Colombian transactions, which he promptly and specifically answered. He was asked, whether M. Zea had not been preceded by

other accredited agents, whose affairs were left unsettled in this country; and whether M. del Real's bills had not, in some instances, been taken up by M. Zea? Mr Powles replied, that he knew nothing of M. del Real's powers or dealings—that he knew M. Mendez had made contracts in England, which were all ratified by the Venezuelean Government at the time; but that none of the persons who preceded M. Zea were invested with the extensive and comprehensive powers of which he was the depository, and which necessarily led to the confidence reposed in him as an authorized agent of his Government.

After these questions were disposed of,

M. Random de Berenger arrested the attention of the meeting. After some observations upon the character of the Colombian Government, his services to them, and the military commission he held under them, he desired to know how it happened that information respecting General Santander's proclamation, which he communicated to the loan parties here last September, had been withheld from the public until the following month?

Mr Powles.—Do you mean to say, that you sent to the contractors General Santander's proclamation before it was known to the public? If you do, there is no foundation for such a statement.

M. de Berenger.—I did, in substance, state its contents to Messrs Graham and Williams.

Mr Powles.—My answer to the question put by Colonel, or M. Random de Berenger, whichever he wishes to be called, for I really know not his rank, is, that he gave no such information to us the contractors: but I can state that he has made other communications to them, and that at one time he enclosed them proof-sheets of a printed pamphlet, which he said he should immediately publish, if we did not pay him a sum of money. (*Here there were considerable marks of disapprobation.*) We refused to comply with his demand. (*Here the uproar became so great that the Chairman was obliged to interpose to restore order.*)

Mr Powles proceeded.—M. de Berenger claimed from M. Zea payment of a sum of L.10,000, (*renewed disapprobation*), not as any remuneration for personal services in behalf of the Colombian Republic, but for furnishing military plans of action, possibly brilliant enough, (*a laugh*), which plans were not returned to him within a limited time. The contractors laid this claim before M. Zea, who refused to listen to it. M. de Berenger wrote then to us to say he had a great deal to tell, and he sent the proof-sheet, saying it should go forth unless he was paid. The letter, with this communication or threat, we returned to the writer—a pretty plain intimation of our disposition to decline any further communication with him. Though I give this explanation, I may be permitted to add, that it is quite irrelevant to the proper business of the day. (*Hear.*) Mr Powles added, that he had received no information of the nature alluded to at the time mentioned, but, even if he had, he should have hesitated to promulgate it upon the mere unsupported authority of that gentleman.

M. de Berenger then asked, whether Mr Powles had not received similar information from Mr Price of St Martin's-lane, a creditor to the amount of L.60,000 upon the Colombian Government?

Mr Powles expressed himself perfectly ready to give the fullest explanation respecting any information which had at any time reached the contractors; but the information which M. de Berenger had insinuated they had received a month before they published it, was General Santander's proclamation, a document which he (Mr Powles) declared the contractors, instead of laying before the public, actually got from the public: it was published before they got it; and he might add, that after that publication, they were daily pressed to sell stock, and they as often declined making any sale. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Rowcroft remarked, that however satisfactory were these private explanations, they were really unsuitable to the regular business of the day, and they ought to pass the resolutions. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Mackintosh begged to put a question before the resolutions were passed,—Were the remittances arising out of the loan transmitted to the Colombian Government; and had their receipt been acknowledged?

Mr Powles said, that they had been sent out, but time had not yet intervened to admit of any acknowledgment of their arrival. It should be recollected, that the Colombian capital, the seat of Government, was 1500 miles from the sea-coast, where, no doubt, some had before this time arrived.

A gentleman held up a Morning Chronicle of the day, and asked whether one of its paragraphs was authentic?

[The paragraph merely professed to be an extract from a Bogota Gazette, dated the 20th of October 1822, which expressed the anxiety of the Colombian Government to fulfil their engagements with foreign states in good faith, but at the same time to preserve the people from the effects of improvident loans.]

Mr Cohen said, that little dependence could be placed upon information obtained in this way. A man named Beevah, confined a year ago in the King's Bench prison, had gone over to South America, and was, he knew, an active agent in transmitting circulars of every description.

Mr Powles said the contractors knew nothing of the arrival of such a Gazette.

A gentleman here observed, that Bolivar could know nothing of the Gazette alluded to, for he was up at Quito.

Mr Kinder said he had some observations to address to the meeting. (*Here some voices exclaimed,* " He is the contractor for the Peruvian loan.") He remarked, that the public had a right to expect something more from the contractors for the Colombian loan than they had divulged in the statement read by Mr Powles. All that was now learned was, that they must wait the return of some messenger who had been dispatched to South America. Ought not the contractors to have been ready now to come forward and say what course they would be prepared to take, if the Colombian Government refused to ratify M. Zea's loan?—a refusal which he thought there was great reason to anticipate. (*Loud cry of* " *No.*") Surely they

ought to do something by the way of ultimate investment, as the Government did not choose to recognize M. Zea's powers. (*A cry of " They have done no such thing."*) What were they in fact to do about this loan?—they could not go before the Colombian Government as claimants of a debt, for their claim was not acknowledged; they would, therefore, have to appear before the Colombian Congress as suppliants by their petition. (*Marks of disapprobation.*) Whatever might appear the ultimate view which the Colombian Government might take of M. Zea's contract, there was at least, he thought, at present a sufficient evidence of their desire to escape from it. (*Cries of " No, no."*) They had struck at the root of the loan by revoking M. Zea's powers. (*Repeated cries of " No."*) Then it would be to be considered, whether the loan was advantageous or disadvantageous to the Colombian Government. Where was the proof? Was it that the Government was so poor? (*A laugh, and cries of " Yes."*)—Considerable interruption prevented Mr Kinder's concluding observation from being heard.

Mr Powles said, that his answer to the speech made by the last gentleman would be comprised in a few words. That gentleman had asked them, why the contractors had not come forward with a proposition to meet the alternative of the non-ratification by the Colombian Government? His answer to such an interrogatory was this—that to contemplate a rejection by the Government, under the *bona fide* circumstances of the whole transaction, would be to cast a gross libel upon that Government, which no part of their previous conduct would justify. (*Applause.*) Besides, how could it be said that the Colombian Government had evinced a desire to refuse the ratification? They had done no such thing; they had only withheld their sanction from a proposition which had not at the time been officially transmitted to them. (*Hear, hear.*) The British public knew that in loans there were such animals as bulls and bears, (*a laugh, and cry of " They are here."*)—these are the complaints of those who have not got contracts, as well as of those who have; but as to the paragraph in the Morning Chronicle from the Colombian paper of the 20th of October, there was really nothing in it of an official shape.

(Just before this observation was made, the original Colombian paper, from which the paragraph in the Chronicle professed to be an extract, was handed up the room, and at length given to Mr Powles; but no person could say from whom it came—a gentleman near the door said it was first given by a person who shrunk away as he sent it forward.) Mr Powles concluded by observing, that it would be useless to found any argument upon a document which nobody would own; and which, after all, said nothing that could throw light upon the subject.

The Chairman observed, that the paper had been most manifestly brought in for some private purpose. (*Hear.*)

M. de Berenger again mounted upon a chair to speak; but his reappearance was the signal for uproar, and he was compelled to remain silent.

Mr James Young said, that the contractors had now done all which could be expected from them: they had, in the first place, and he thought most satisfactorily, accounted for the delay in the non-recognition on the part of the Colombian Government, by the fact of the interception of M. Zea's dispatches from France; and the extraordinary fact, that the original contract, which was known to have been forwarded by M. Zea in a dispatch to his Government, and which never appeared to have arrived, had been seen within the last ten or twelve days in London. (*Hear.*) If such a scheme as that could be perpetrated, need they wonder at the want of real information by the Colombian Government respecting their European affairs? need they affect surprise that the Colombian Government paused to receive official and unequivocal information as they had done? (*Hear, hear.*) They (the Colombian Government) had not contradicted M. Zea's acts; they had only, in the absence of all information from him, paused to inquire into them: and how that information had been withheld, let the interception of the dispatches speak. (*Hear, hear.*) The moment the Colombian Government received the proceeds of this loan—the moment they were in possession of the real manner in which it was effected, they must at once give it the force of their legal sanction; unless they

meant to hold their conduct forth to the civilized governments of the world, as a disgraceful and fraudulent example of bad dealing. In no part of the contract had the Colombian Government a right to complain—of the price at which it was negociated they could not; and there was every reason to expect that, when possessed of the requisite information, they would act as became them. There was only a part of Mr Powles's statement that he was disposed to dissent from, and that was the propriety of withholding an account of the proceeds of the loan. It was, perhaps, more politic and best, considering the peculiar nature of the transaction, to reserve such a disclosure at present: he should have been, however, more satisfied had it been made. He felt the force of the argument, that the disclosure might furnish weapons against themselves. Still he had rather the full details were given. (*Hear.*)

Mr Powles said, that the contractors had not the slightest desire to withhold any information; and if Mr Young wished to see the accounts, they should be shown him at the office on Monday morning without reserve; but at the same time it would be for Mr Young to say, whether, as the transaction stood, one merchant would, in his transactions with another, make that disclosure public under existing circumstances. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr Kinder again attempted to address the meeting; but the general call was for the resolutions, and he was obliged to desist.

Mr Mackintosh said, that as warlike stores, sent contrary to the Act of Parliament, formed a part of the disbursements, there might be a reason why disclosure would be impolitic.

Mr Powles admitted the propriety of such a reserve, if the British Government were to be the parties to whom the application was to be made; but it was quite impossible to go into the account in this manner.

The Chairman at length put an end to the desultory conversation so long carried on, by proposing the resolutions, which were carried unanimously. Two or three hands were

held up against some of them, and some voices said the parties were Peruvian bond-holders.

A gentleman wished to know whether M. Revenga had admitted that the signature of his name to M. Zea's powers was genuine? and then whether M. Revenga had been asked if that signature had not been given to a blank power, and not to one filled up in its present shape?

Mr Powles replied, that the power filled up as at present had been put into M. Revenga's hands, and he was asked if his signature thereunto annexed was genuine? His reply was in the affirmative: of course it did not enter into the minds of the contractors to follow up such an answer, by asking a gentleman whether he had signed papers in a blank state, to be used in an indirect manner. *(Hear, hear.)*

A long and desultory conversation followed, in which the questions already put were reiterated in every form, and answered in the manner Mr Powles had already replied to similar ones. It was at length resolved, on the motion of Mr Yatnall, that a committee, consisting of Mr Alderman Brydges, Mr Thomas Wilson, M. P. and Mr Rowcroft, should examine the accounts of the contractors, and report upon the disbursements: and it was also resolved, on the motion of Colonel Stewart, that a deputation should wait upon M. Revenga, with the resolutions of the day, and request of him, respectfully, to forward them, without delay, to the Colombian Government.

Mr Brooke thought it indelicate to appoint a committee to look over the accounts for the purpose of ascertaining the disbursements, unless some necessity were first proved for the investigation.

Mr Powles declared the readiness of the contractors to submit the whole of the accounts to the gentlemen named as a committee.

A gentleman asked Mr Powles, if he believed, in his own opinion, that the Colombian Government were satisfied with the transactions respecting the loan?

Mr Powles replied, that it was impossible the contractors could act as father confessors to the Colombian Government.

All they could express was, their firm conviction, that when the requisite information reached South America, the Government there would declare its satisfaction at what had occurred.

Mr Rowcroft condemned the introduction of irrelevant matter into the business of the meeting—he said he did not hold a shilling in Colombian stock: he had been a purchaser at first, but he sold out at 96. (*Loud laughter.*)

In answer to another question, Mr Powles said, that it was very unlikely the Colombian Government would make a distinction in their recognition between M. Zea's debentures and the loan.

All the resolutions being passed, the business of the day terminated at 4 o'clock.

The following are the RESOLUTIONS.

AT a Meeting of the Holders of Colombian Bonds, called by the Contractors for the Colombian Loan, held at the City of London Tavern, the 11th instant, Alderman BRYDGES, M.P. in the chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1st, That the power under which the contract for the Colombian loan, dated at Paris, March 13th last, was concluded, appears to this meeting to be of the most full and unequivocal kind, and entirely adequate to the purpose to which it was applied.

2d, That upon every principle of public justice, as well as by the opinions of some of the most eminent legal authorities submitted to this meeting, the afore-mentioned power was in full force as regards the public in Europe, until public notice of its revocation was given.

3d, That no public notice of any kind has ever appeared revoking the late M. Zea's powers, from the Government of Colombia, until the proclamation of the Vice-President, Santander, dated the 1st June last, at Bogota, which did not reach England till October last, six months after the contract for the loan was made.

4th, That from the latest accounts from Bogota, the capital of Colombia, it appears that the Government had received no official advice of the contract for this loan.

5th, That this meeting having the fullest reliance on the honour and good faith of the Government of Colombia, no less from the character of its illustrious President than from the nature of the laws and institutions which it has formed, entertains the firmest persuasion, that, on receiving the necessary information of the acts of its late minister-plenipotentiary, M. Zea, in an official shape, it will immediately take the necessary measures for giving legal confirmation to the same.

6th, That the contractors having expressed their readiness to shew a statement of their account with the Colombian Government, in respect of this loan, to any gentlemen the meeting might appoint, the following gentlemen be requested to form a committee for that purpose; viz.

Alderman BRYDGES, M. P.
THOMAS WILSON, Esq. M. P.
THOMAS ROWCROFT, Esq.

and to report to the public, in any manner they think proper, the result thereof.

7th, That a deputation be appointed to wait on M. Revenga with a copy of these Resolutions, and to request him to transmit the same to his Government with the least possible delay.

(Signed) GEORGE BRYDGES, *Chairman*.

The Chairman having quitted the Chair,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Alderman Brydges for his kindness in taking the Chair, and for his marked attention throughout the day to the business of the meeting.

[No. I.]

Republic of Colombia.—Simon Bolivar, President of the Republic, Commander in Chief of the Army of Liberation, &c. &c. To all to whom these presents may come, greeting.

The national honour requiring the most punctual payment of the debts occasioned by the independent war, which happily is approaching its termination; and it being convenient to embrace the first moments of tranquillity to reanimate agriculture and the operation of the mines, and at once to open the inexhaustible fountain of public wealth in a country so extraordinarily favoured by nature, it is determined, in order to attend to such important objects, to raise a loan in Europe, of the sum of from two to five millions of pounds sterling, using for that purpose the special authority and powers with which the Congress has vested me.

To carry this into practice with the requisite formalities, I have appointed, and by the present full, authentic, and legal powers, do confer on his Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic, Francisco Antonio Zea, the appointment of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, to proceed to Europe, and establish our political and commercial relations, authorizing him with full and due powers to negociate and contract the said loan, for the sum which he may judge convenient, providing it does not exceed five millions of pounds sterling, stipulating the terms and conditions which to him may appear best, and applying for the liquidation of the principal and interest thereof the most productive branches of the public revenue, and, if necessary, hypothecating lands, mines, and other property of the state.

And for the fulfilment of what shall be contracted, agreed, and stipulated by his Excellency the said Minister Plenipotentiary, Francisco Antonio Zea, relating to the said loan, I promise and bind myself, as President of the Republic of Colombia, specially authorized by the Supreme National Congress.

In faith whereof, I give these presents, sealed with the provisional seal of the State, at St Thomas of Angostura, this 24th day of December 1819. (Signed) SIMON BOLIVAR,

By the President of Colombia.

(Signed) JOSEPH R. REVENGA,

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the Government of the Republic of Colombia hereby certifies, that the above are the signatures of Simon Bolivar, President of the Republic of Colombia, and of Joseph Rafael Revenga, Minister of State for foreign affairs in the said Republic. (Signed) F. A. ZEA.

Dated at Paris, 16th March 1822.

[No. II.]

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA.

THE undersigned, Don Francisco Antonio Zea, having, in his capacity of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of Colombia, granted to the creditors of the said Government certain debentures in payment of their respective claims, bearing an interest of ten per cent per annum, the first instalment of which becomes due on the 1st May next, hereby informs the holders of the said debentures, that the said Government has not been able as yet to remit to the committee appointed for that purpose in London the funds necessary to the payment of the said instalment. This delay is the unavoidable consequence of the great changes which have lately taken place; the seat of Government having been removed from Angostura to Cúcuta, and the march and countermarch of troops having for a time interrupted the communication with the sea-ports; but which has ultimately led to the conclusion of an armistice, from which a happy termination of the war may be expected.

The undersigned has much satisfaction in informing the creditors of the Republic of Colombia, that he has received

dispatches from his Government, giving him the most positive assurance of the prompt remittance of the aforesaid funds, which the aforesaid military movements had retarded.

(Signed) F. A. Zea.

Paris, 25th April 1821.

[No. III.]

Bedfont, Oct. 22.

Gentlemen,—The proclamation issued by the Vice-President of the Republic of Colombia, dated Bogota the 1st June, to which you have drawn my attention, has not reached me through any authorized channel—but I see no reason to doubt its authenticity. I attribute this proclamation, in fact, to the very earnest representations which I have urged upon the Government on the necessity of preventing, in future, its powers from being applied to purposes not within their due scope, and sub-delegated to other persons not contemplated by the Government.

In reference to the loan negociated with you at Paris in March last, I can only refer you to the power deposited in your hands, signed by the executive authority, most complete in its form and tenor, and which has never been revoked in the slightest degree, directly or indirectly.

In unison with the power itself, the instructions with which I am furnished specially direct me to raise a loan in Europe, whenever it should be practicable, and on conditions which have not been exceeded in my engagement with you.

No advice has yet reached me of my dispatches (which announce the contract for the loan) having arrived at Bogota.

Having in no respect exceeded the powers granted to me by the Government of Colombia, I have only to add, that the Government will be found faithful, in all respects, to the engagements I have entered into on its behalf. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) F. A. Zea.

To Messrs Charles Herring, William Graham, and John Ditton Powles, contractors for the Colombian Loan.

[No. IV.]

Exeter, November 4. 1822.

GENTLEMEN,—I am sorry to perceive that the public mind ontinues to be much agitated on the subject of the Colomian loan.

The insinuation, that in contracting for this loan I have xceeded my powers, in violation of the constitution of Coombia, I should not have considered worthy the slightest otice, but for the interests of individuals which may for the oment be affected by the unfounded alarm thus sought to e excited. I repeat, therefore, openly and without reserve, he following facts:—

That the Republic of Colombia having been formed at the lose of the year 1819, by the union of Venezuela and New renada, I was appointed Vice-President of Colombia, and ubsequently dispatched to Europe as its Minister Plenipoteniary.

That for purposes detailed in my instructions I was authoized to raise a loan in Europe.

That for this object powers were given to me by the Presilent Bolivar, "using for that purpose," as he himself states, ' the special authority and powers with which the Congress ad invested him."

That subsequently to this the Congress passed a special lecree, investing me with extraordinary powers to meet any mergencies that might arise, pending my mission in Europe, ot specifically contemplated by the powers of the President, r to which his authority might prove inadequate.

That my powers and my instructions exist at this moment n their full force, without the slightest alteration.

That the loan has been appropriated to the service of the Republic, in paying off the debts of Venezuela and New Grenada, agreeably to the third article of the fundamental aw of the Republic; in sending supplies to the Government; and in other objects contained in my instructions.

That the Congress of 1821 confirmed all the proceedings of the preceding Congress of 1819, excepting in some particulars having no relation to the present question.

That the constitution adopted *ad interim*, in 1819, which served as the model for that of 1821, contained the same article on the authority of the Congress, " to contract debts on the credit of Colombia," which is prescribed by the latter constitution, and was consequently in full force at the time my powers were delivered to me.

The proclamation of the Vice-President, Santander, dated the 1st June last, can have no reference to the loan contracted by me. Neither at that date, nor at the date of its publication, could the Government by possibility have received my dispatch, containing advice of the loan. The word " Loan" does not occur in any part of the proclamation. Nor does it belong to the Vice-President to confirm the contract, that being solely the attribute of Congress, which will assemble in January next. The proclamation recognizes me as the political agent of the Republic in Europe, agreeably to my instructions. I have received no new authority since the constitution of 1821. It follows, therefore, that in this same proclamation the powers previously vested in me are distinctly recognized.

I have not exceeded either my powers or my instructions. I have maintained the credit of my Government. I have done justice on its behalf to the claims of the English creditors. I have placed the national debt of the State on a footing suited to the actual condition and the growing nature of its resources. Possessing, as I have always done, the confidence of my Government and of my country, I have no fear that I shall find it diminished by my administration of its affairs in Europe. As far, however, Gentlemen, as you and all those interested in this loan are concerned, the name of Bolivar is your secure pledge for the scrupulous fulfilment of every engagement I have entered into with you.

It is not from the necessity of justifying my own conduct, but for the sake of others, that I have entered into these

explanations. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant, (Signed) F. A. Zea.

Messrs Charles Herring, William Graham, and J. D. Powles, contractors for the Colombian Loan.

V.—TO THE EDITOR OF A MORNING PAPER.

London, Dec. 9. 1822.

Sir,—Recent circumstances have given an interest to Colombian news which it could hardly otherwise have possessed. Looking over some Caracas newspapers received by the Leeward Island mail on Saturday, I find that the proclamation issued at Bogota, which has made so much noise here, appears to have reached Caracas about the latter part of August, as it is first published in the Caracas newspaper of the 2d September. In the same newspaper which publishes this proclamation, the Editor has very properly inserted an extract of the powers granted to M. Zea on his quitting Angostura in 1820, and which were then published in the *Correo del Orinoco*, the official Gazette of the day. This extract is as follows:—

" Extract of the Special Powers granted by the Government of Colombia to Don F. A. Zea, respecting the National Debt:—

" Republic of Colombia.—Simon Bolivar, President of the Republic, Commander in Chief, &c. &c.—To those whom it may concern, greeting,

" Having appointed his Excellency the Vice-President of the Republic, F. A. Zea, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to those Courts of Europe to which he may think proper to address himself, concerning the negociations mentioned in his full powers, I have thought proper to invest his Excellency *with the whole representation of Colombia for every species of affairs*, authorizing him by these presents to recall all commissions and powers whatever, and of any class

whatever, without exception, which have been granted up to this moment, and even those which may be granted during his mission, if he should consider them not calculated to facilitate his operations. Such being the object I have proposed to myself in conferring on his Excellency full and unlimited powers, I likewise authorize him to appoint resident or extraordinary Ministers to those Courts which may recognize the Republic, or with which negociations may be pending relative to the recognition; as also Consuls, Agents, and Commissioners, with such powers as he may think proper to grant to them for the execution of the several affairs confided to his Excellency, and of which the following are recommended to him:—

"1. (This article does not relate to the debts.)

"2. To establish the public credit on a solid and permanent basis; for which purpose he will concert his measures with the creditors of the Republic, who are interested in maintaining it.—The most ample powers are ceded to him to treat and agree with them on the means of ensuring the payment of their respective claims, the liquidation of which, according to the contracts, has been impeded by the vicissitudes of the war, and the necessity of attending principally to the support of the Republic, whose existence was of the last importance to them. Nothing shall be omitted to accomplish duly so sacred an object.

(The following articles do not relate to the point in question.)

"Given in the Palace of the Government at Angostura, and signed by my hand, sealed with the provisional seal of the Republic, and countersigned by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the 24th of December 1819, 9th year of independence. (L.S.) "SIMON BOLIVAR."

"By order of his Excellency the President of Colombia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

"JOSEPH R. REVENGA," &c. &c.

Thus it appears, that independent of the separate and special power authorizing M. Zea to raise a loan (which has been

already published), he had the most ample powers to settle with the British creditors in any manner he might think fit. In fact, it is impossible to conceive a Minister to have been dispatched from any Government armed with more extensive authority.

It being perfectly clear that no person could hesitate to treat with a minister producing such unequivocal powers, two questions only remain—

1st, Have these powers been revoked?

And, 2dly, Has there been any notice of the revocation given to the public?

The first is a question wholly between M. Zea and his Government. He states publicly in his two letters to the contractors, that his powers and his instructions have never been revoked in any manner, directly or indirectly; and the Proclamation of the 1st June recognizes him as " alone authorized for political affairs agreeably to his instructions." Who shall say, that " the establishing the public credit of the Republic on a permanent and solid basis" is not a " political" object? Most evident it is that it was among his " instructions." Again, who will assert that the loan has not, in point of fact, been applied to " political" objects? M. Zea would have been very unfit for the station he held, if he could have stated to the public *all* the purposes to which he was directed to apply the loan.

The second question is easily answered. To the *public* there has been no notice of any revocation of M. Zea's powers. The Colombian Government formally announced him at his departure, in its official Gazette, as fully authorized, as has been seen; the only notice that has since appeared about him is in the Bogota Gazette of October 1821, stating that M. Mendez and M. Vergara, the former Representatives of the Republic, had been recalled, and that M. Zea, the minister in Europe, had ceased to be Vice-President, (which followed as a matter of course when his mission to Europe lasted so long), but leaving his functions in all other respects untouched.

Every one is free to put his own interpretation on the proclamation, as to its intention for the future. As to the past,

like all other similar documents, it can have no retrospective effect. At its date it is morally certain that the Government could know nothing of the Loan. Up to the end of August, it appears that the Government had received no advices from M. Zea on the subject. The letters having been written from Paris, it has been conjectured that the French Post-office, in the exercise of its usual scrutiny, may have sent the whole of the dispatches to the Spanish Ambassador. The reception of letters by M. Zea has been interrupted by an accident of another kind, the shipwreck of M. Revenga on his way to Europe, early in September, and the loss of all his papers. But in the midst of these miscarriages, and the delays consequent upon them, if we keep our eyes fixed on the leading points of the question, we shall not be much at a loss as to the result.

MERCATOR.

THE END.

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